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Social Insecurity? p.39

Will Islamic Fundamentalism Mean a New Cold War?

NATIONAL REVIEW

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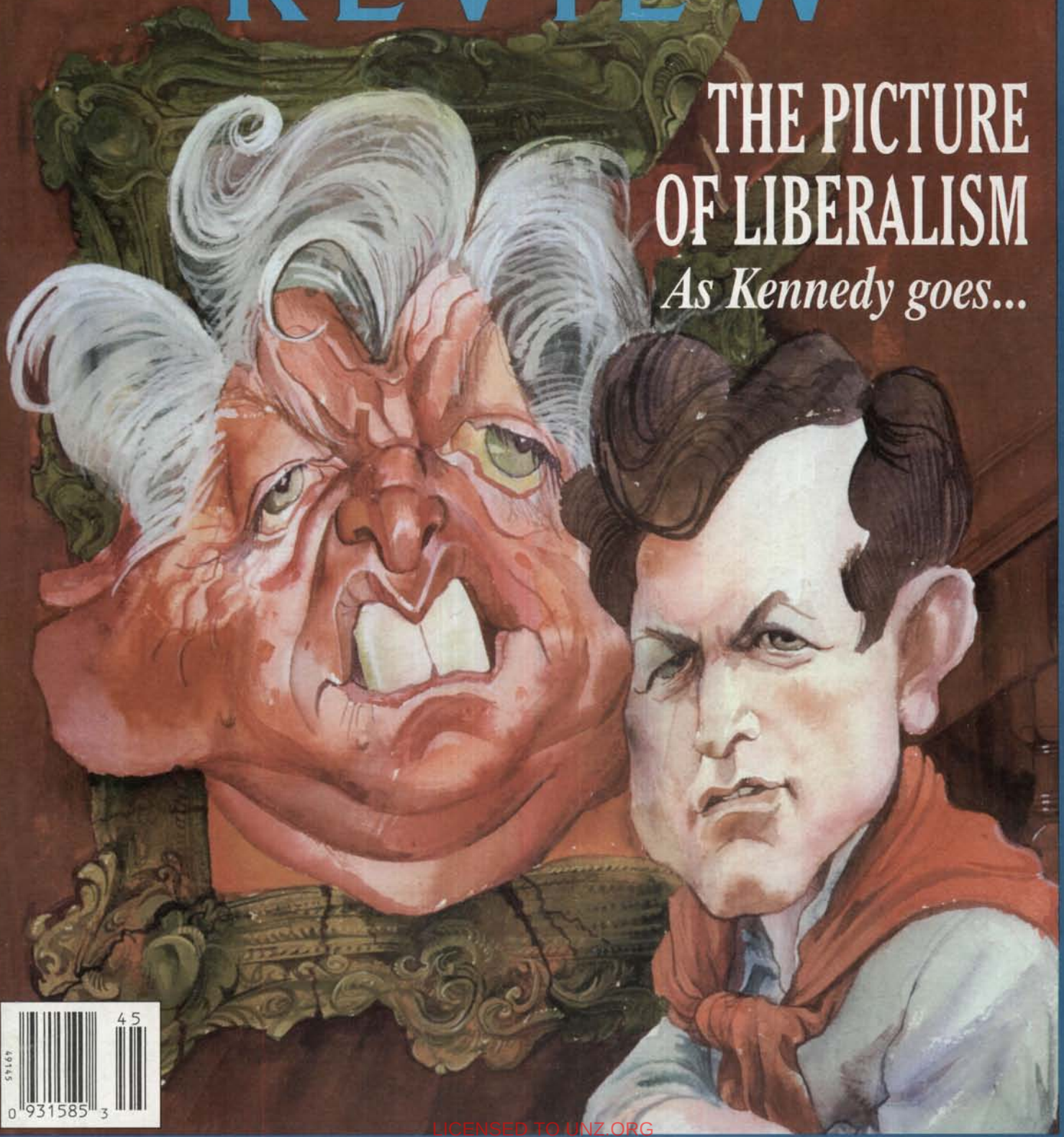

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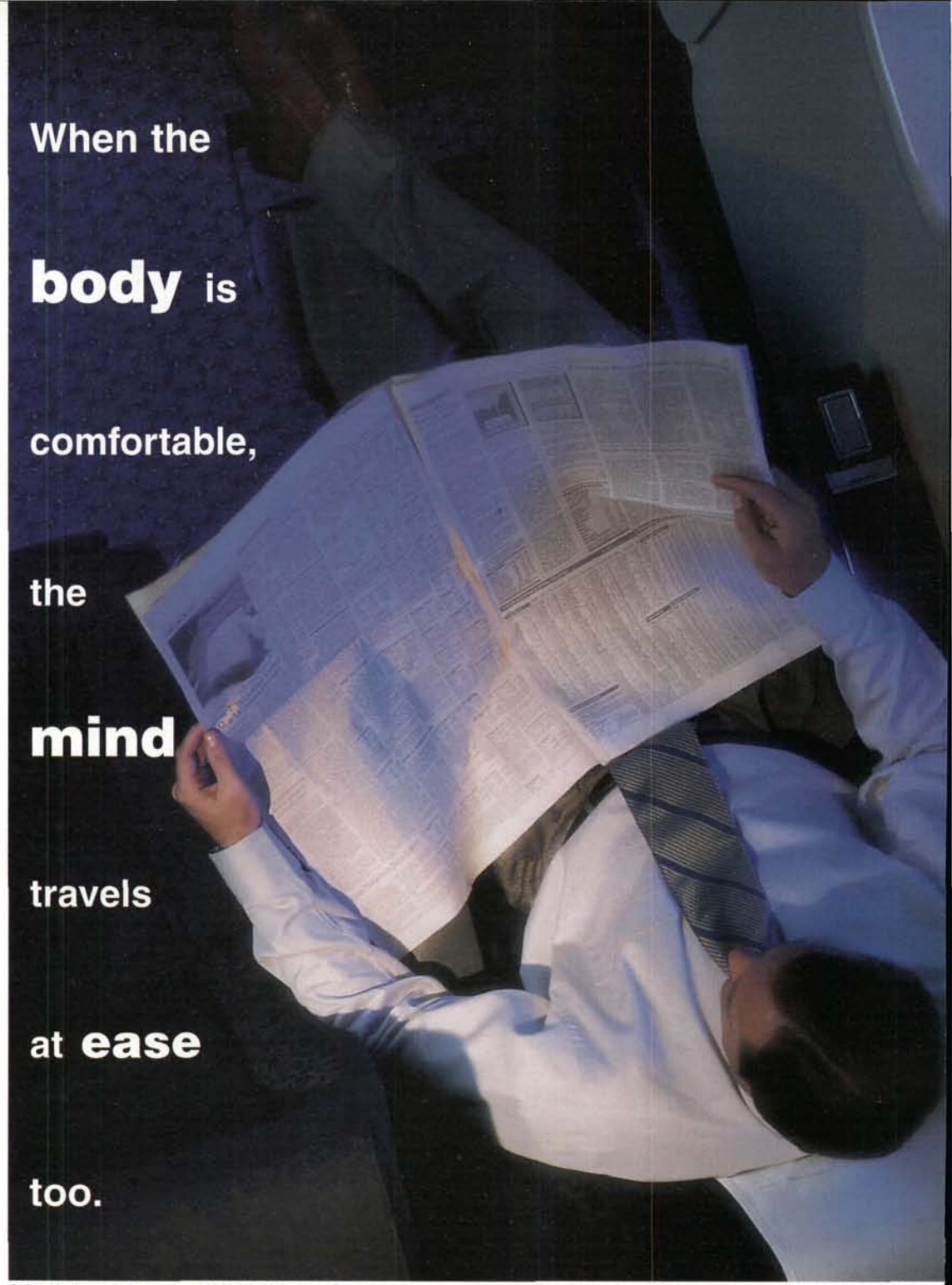

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NATIONAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER 7, 1994 VOL. XLVI, NO. 21

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Cover illustration by Roman Genn

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Letters

Defending IRI

Your editorial "The IRI: Shake It Up or Close It Down" [Oct. 10] leveled unfounded and, in one instance, contradictory complaints about the current performance of the International Republican Institute. A few facts (a commodity conspicuously absent in the editorial) about the Institute are in order.

IRI's mission is to do the very things your editorial urges it to do: "teach the lessons of limited government and free-market economics, the importance of stressing individual freedom over state power, building a strong civil society to restrain the government." We disagree with NATIONAL REVIEW over the appropriate location for those programs. . . .

We at IRI believe we should invest most of our resources in the countries where the struggle for free markets and democracy is under way and not in Washington (where the struggle, if not concluded, is at least advanced).

Your demand that I shake up the Institute is contradicted by your concern over staff turnover. Obviously the former is hard to achieve without imposing the latter. When I became Chairman of IRI, the Board of Directors had grown increasingly concerned that the Institute's programs were unfocused, outreach efforts to Republican foreign-policy and political leaders were non-existent, and our finances were a mess. Our only standard for success was growth in government funding.

In the past 18 months, IRI has reordered its priorities. Our programming standard is now based on two criteria: do we serve U.S. national interests, and are we able to effect change? Accordingly, we have strengthened our efforts in Russia, Central Europe, Mexico, and Nicaragua; initiated programs in China, South Africa, Cuba, and Ukraine; and terminated a number of programs in places such as Guinea-Bissau and Lesotho.

In an effort to improve our accountability, IRI has issued its first annual report, reached outside the Beltway for a cadre of volunteer political trainers, and recruited dedicated, able political and foreign-policy leaders for our Board.

While insufficient, fundraising efforts have netted over $100,000 (which has been used to pay off bad debts inherited by my administration). Financial controls, virtually non-existent when I became chairman, are now draconian. First-class and business-class travel, standard when I became Chairman, are no longer permitted. Expense accounts are closely scrutinized. Highly paid consultants have been replaced with equally qualified *pro bono* trainers.

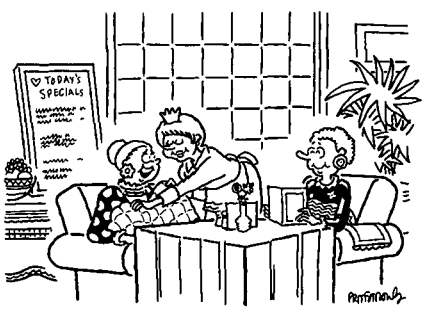
In the course of raising our program standards, we have let go employees whose competence or commitment were inadequate or who had violated our new financial controls (one of whom, I suspect, may have been the source for your editorial). . . .

NATIONAL REVIEW has asked us to shake up IRI or close it down. I invite the editors to take another, closer look at IRI. I am confident you will discover that the former is well under way, and that the Institute's work is important enough and effective enough to forgo the latter.

Senator John McCain
(R., Ariz.)
Washington, D.C.

As a regular reader of NATIONAL REVIEW, I was surprised to read its opinion of IRI. As you stated, "the IRI offers a rare opportunity for Republicans to make a mark in foreign policy." Indeed, I believe this is an opportunity IRI has seized with enthusiasm.

Contrary to Clinton Administration dogma, IRI is trying to make a difference in countries important to our national-security interests. For example, IRI's Russian program is headed by a very capable former House Republican staffer with whom I have conferred during two visits to Moscow over the past 18 months. In the 15 Russian provinces where the IRI has concentrated its programming, a dozen IRI-trained reformist candidates won their races for the Duma (parliament) in the December 1993 elections. Other IRI-trained democrats won seats on city councils (including Moscow and St. Petersburg), and scores of such people became involved in campaigns for the first time, with the promise that their participation in the democratic process will continue. . . .



"They certainly make you feel cozy here!"

In South Africa, IRI has received the praise of the *Sunday Times* for producing "the first major opinion poll on voter preferences." IRI's work with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party was of such quality that it received lavish praise from IFP campaign manager A. J. Konigkramer, who wrote that IRI has "laid the ground work for all we had to do in a short space of time . . . thank you for not giving up on us and constantly offering support. . . ."

IRI has received similar praise for its work in Eastern Europe, where it aids democracy's adherents in their struggle against socialist retrenchment; in Asia, where it is credited by Cambodia's Communist losers with helping democrats win the 1993 election; and in Latin America, where it continues President Reagan's legacy by assisting the forces of democracy in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In any organization, there is always room for improvement. But, under Senator John McCain's gifted leadership, IRI has been shaken up and is producing the kind of results in which all Republicans—indeed all Americans—can take pride.

Representative Henry J. Hyde
(R., Ill.)
Washington, D.C.

I was very puzzled to read NATIONAL REVIEW's editorial on IRI. I want to take a moment to inform your readers what the International Republican Institute has meant to the Burmese democracy movement.

In 1990, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) attempted to place a veneer of respectability on its brutal regime by holding elections. The people responded by overwhelmingly rejecting SLORC and electing Aung San Suu Kyi and candidates in her National League for Democracy (NLD) party. The junta, refusing to recognize the will of the people for a democratic government based on respect for human rights and justice, again cracked down. NLD officials and elected representatives were

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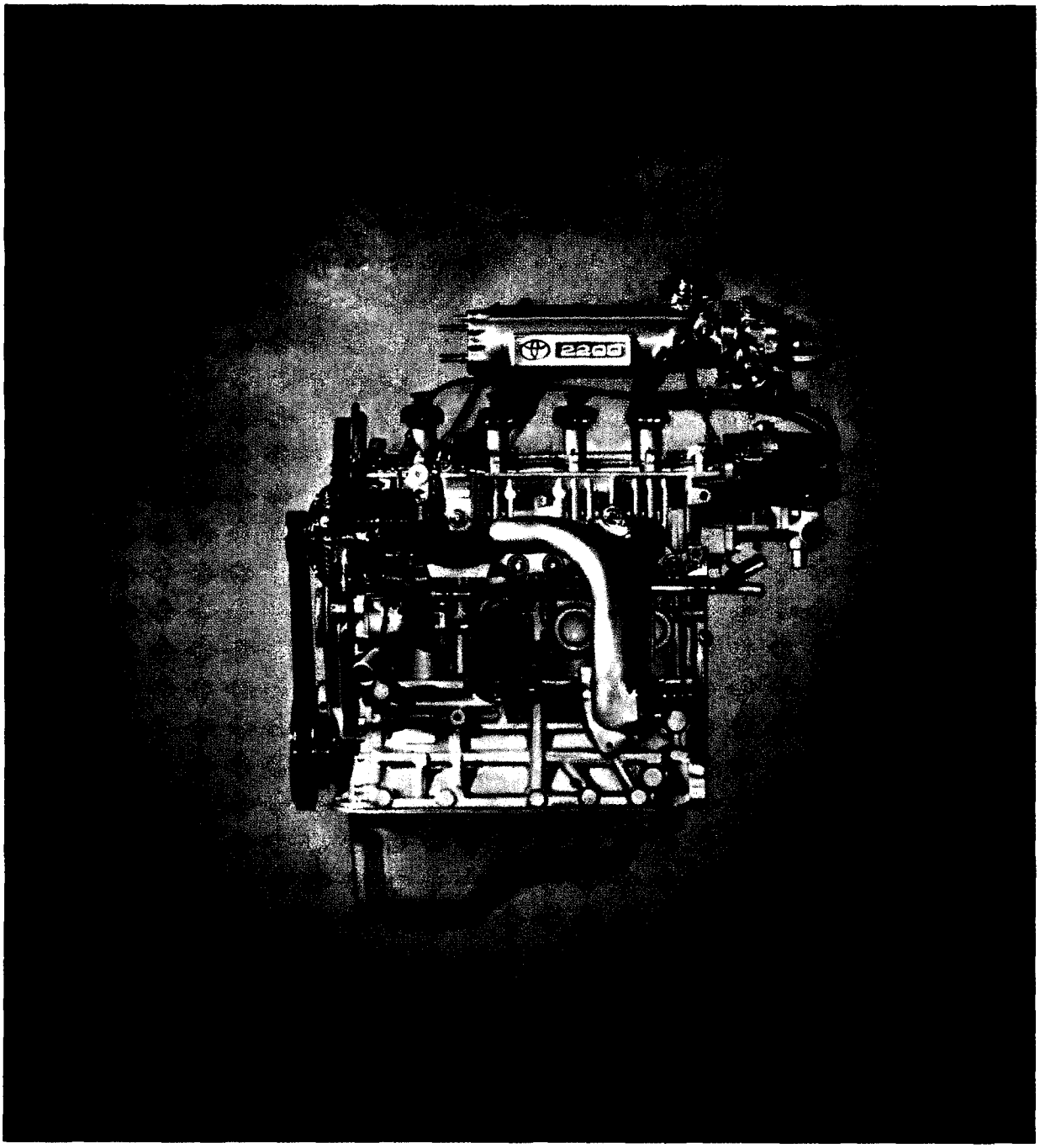

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rounded up, beaten, and arrested. Many of my colleagues were killed. A band of parliamentarians, including myself, escaped to the mountains on the Thai–Burmese border, where we fulfilled the will of the people by swearing ourselves into office and taking an oath to save our country from tyranny.

In 1991, IRI began a program of financial and technical assistance with the NLD to prepare our members for the struggle that lay ahead. Over the past three years, IRI staffers and trainers have traveled to our outpost deep in the Burmese jungle to teach us skills and help us devise strategies to inform the international community about our struggle. Now, thanks to IRI assistance, NLD is back on its feet, organizing and recruiting new members in the ethnic-dominated border areas outside of SLORC control.

These efforts have proven so successful that we have begun moving inside Burma, reconstituting our party, and re-establishing contact with pro-democracy activists. With IRI playing a major role, pamphlets and papers which focus on democracy are regularly smuggled into cities and towns throughout the country. SLORC views this as such a threat that it has executed over twenty of our operatives, and anyone caught reading our literature is automatically sentenced to three years in jail. . . .

When the people rise up again—and they will—and our elected representatives are finally seated in Rangoon, it will be with great pride and eternal gratitude that I will tell my countrymen how, during our darkest hours, the American people, through IRI, stood by our side and helped bring about the dawn of our new democracy.

IRI is not a failure. To me and the people of Burma, it is a bright, shining star of success.

Dr. Sein Win
Burmese Prime Minister
Washington, D.C.

We are impressed by the number of letters defending IRI and by the standing of their authors. Nevertheless we are not yet convinced. Senator McCain's suggestion that every IRI employee let go was incompetent, uncommitted, or spendthrift is ungenerous and untrue. The applause from foreign sources—Burmese, South African, or whatever—is to be expected, for people are usually grateful when you spend money on them. We continue to believe that leadership and morale at IRI leave much to be desired, and urge the IRI Board to undertake an inquiry of its own.
—ED.

Choice Words

Do you only employ dishonest journalists? Once again a reporter, in this case Rich Lowry, who was sent to cover what you refer to as a moderate conference ["Moderate Blues," Aug. 15] has missed the point! More than that, he has made up several and distorted still other points!

The entire conference was an effort to reach out to all parts of the Party. There were people there that were pro-life, as well as pro-choice, there were those who call themselves only conservative, those (such as myself) who consider themselves libertarian conservatives, and those all the way to the Left who actually call themselves liberal Republicans. If your reporter was honest enough, he would have reported that, in fact, the conference had been endorsed by leaders in both wings of the Party.

And then there's his distortion of things that I said. He made the claim that we (*sic*) moderates were full of ideas on how to replace evangelical Protestants that we would be bound to alienate. He then quoted me as saying, "How many people here have ever gone to an NAACP meeting?"

Those two thoughts have nothing in common. I asked how many people had ever gone to an NAACP meeting as a challenge to those in the room to get out and go into non-traditional Republican areas and spread the gospel. And that "gospel" is traditional Republican values of individual freedom, personal responsibility, limited government, and economic opportunity for all. Hardly radical ideas that are bound to alienate evangelical Protestants.

In fact, nowhere during the conference did I ever hear a call from the podium or any other speaker that evangelical Protestants or any other group within the Party leave or be driven out.

To see how far off Mr. Lowry was, check with the Alexandria Republican City Committee, who sent one of their most conservative members (in fact, I think she's a member of the Christian Coalition). She reported back that she had been shocked at the fact that people who she thought she had nothing in common with (because she was so conservative) in fact advocated ideas such as term limits, balanced budgets, reduced government spending, tax cuts, tough on crime, etc., etc., etc.

Again, when your reporters go in with a pre-set idea, they're going to write stories and be guilty of the same thing that we accuse the liberal media of—and that's bias.

I really hope you can find reporters in the future whose integrity outweighs their desire to write a story that fits their prejudice. I'm getting tired of writing these letters.

Ann E. W. Stone
Chairman
Republicans for Choice
Alexandria, Va.

Mrs. Stone's contention that the Conference for a Republican Majority wasn't a gathering of moderates is scarcely convincing. I only wish she had read the program describing it as "a forum for forward-looking Republicans to develop strategies to reshape the GOP into a more inclusive party." Or looked at the speakers' list dominated by such illustrious right-wingers as former Congressman Bill Frenzel (the conference's chairman), former Congressman Bill Green, former congressional candidate Dolly Madison McKenna, soon-to-be fomer congressional candidate Michele Dyson, etc. Or listened to the speakers complain about getting, as one panelist put it, "kicked in the teeth" by the Christian Right. (One participant, quoted in my story, described the conference proceedings as "whining.") If all this was a ruse to dupe the unsuspecting into thinking the conference was about reviving the GOP's moderate wing, I have to confess: I fell for it.

Equally silly is Mrs. Stone's deconstruction of her comment (accurately quoted in my story, I might add) about attending NAACP meetings. If GOP moderates reach out to their local education associations and the Anti-Defamation League in their fights with the Christian Right (as suggested by Dolly Madison McKenna) or blithely declare Marshall Coleman representative of the real Republican Party in Virginia (as one failed Virginia statewide candidate did at the conference) or discard the pro-life plank from the Republican Party's platform (as some moderates advocate), evangelical Protestants will indeed be alienated. Trying to make up the resulting lost votes from among gays, feminists, and blacks is a formula for creating lots of former GOP congressmen and congressional candidates (please see above).

I can only sympathize with Mrs. Stone's weariness with her letters. Surely there's a better way for her to spend her time. Has she attended any NAACP meetings lately? —RL

Clinton's Haiti

A gun buy-back in Haiti! How precious! I look forward to the campaign for a smoke-free Port-au-Prince.

Lawrence Henry
Charlestown, Mass.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Dangerous Curves

■ NATIONAL REVIEW will devote a symposium to Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve* in a future issue. Whatever its merits or demerits as science, however, the book was a political and moral issue even before publication. May I therefore make two immediate points on behalf of my fellow editors.

First, the controversy, which threatens to be painful for a multi-ethnic democracy, may yet be worthwhile *if* it persuades us to turn away from the divisive politics of multiculturalism and diversity and toward those of individual opportunity and attainment within an American identity encompassing all ethnic groups.

And, second, the Declaration of Independence, affirming the equality of Americans, is founded more securely on the religious concept of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God than on the always provisional findings of science.

■ Four years ago, at the close of the Gulf War, I wrote: "If Saddam consolidates his power, he is more likely than any potential successor to create trouble. He would be bent on recovery and revenge . . ." A month later, I added that in these circumstances "a much larger permanent Western force would be needed to underpin Gulf security."

Now, I quote these warnings not simply to say "I told you so" (though why the heck not, after all, etc., etc.), but also to suggest that solutions to "rogue" states are no solutions at all if they allow the rogue governments to remain in place. They are merely temporary expedients.

Saddam has just confirmed that by forcing us to fly in U.S. Marines to block his feint at Kuwait. If we now compel him to accept a no-tank zone in southern Iraq, he can call back the Marines any time he likes by amassing his tanks on the edge of the zone. (My advice to the Marines: start collecting frequent-flyer miles.)

Similarly, if North Korea's Kim Jong Il accepts our current bribes (nuclear reactors, etc.), he can always pause, then refuse to allow international inspection, then amass his tanks on the border, and wait for Jimmy Carter to arrive with fresh concessions.

"But he is more likely to refrain from aggression if Saddam Hussein has shown its consequences by perishing miserably" (as I wrote four years ago).

■ I am indebted to Richard Caulkins, Eileen O'Leary, and John Smoke Jr. for detecting an error in my recent quotation from Macaulay. As they point out, Archbishop Laud could not have delivered his complacent account of Anglican supremacy to Charles I "at the close of 1649" since the Archbishop was executed in 1645 and the King in January 1649.

The correct date was "at the close of 1639." Though I should have noticed it myself, the error was not wholly mine. I transcribed it from the "Cambridge Edition" of Macaulay's essays, published in Boston by Estes and Lauriat.

I have not checked another edition of the essays, but I suspect that Macaulay himself is blameless. He cites the correct year of Laud's account in the paragraph following the one I quoted. And although even Homer nods, the historian of England whose favorite phrase was "every schoolboy knows" (e.g., "every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma and who strangled Atahualpa") probably did not mistake the date of Charles's execution.

So I apologize on behalf of myself and the ghosts of Estes and Lauriat.

■ Still, it might have been worse. When I was editor of *Policy Review*, we published a book review by the late Mel Bradford with a typo in the very first sentence. It went: "America is a nation dedicated to a preposition."

Fortunately, Professor Bradford, unlike Queen Victoria, was amused, wondering which preposition America was dedicated to. He hoped it was "but"; he feared it was "for." —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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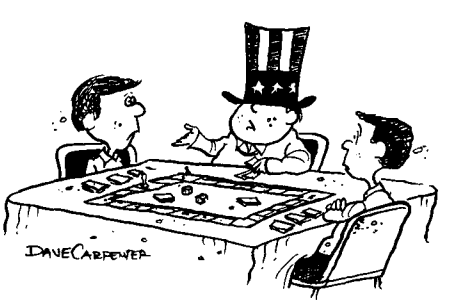
FOR THE RECORD

■ With campaign moving into final two weeks, hit-'em-hard strategy of Democrats' congressional campaign advisor **Tony Coelho** is not showing payoff. Weeks of nasty, highly personal TV spots by Sen. **Ted Kennedy** (D., Mass.) against **Mitt Romney**, by Sen. **Dianne Feinstein** (D., Calif.) against Rep. **Michael Huffington** (R., Calif.), by Sen. **Chuck Robb** (D., Va.) against **Ollie North**, and by Sen. **Harris Wofford** (D., Pa.) against Rep. **Rick Santorum** (R., Pa.) are doing little damage. "They haven't really moved my numbers," says a surprised Santorum; his poll ratings haven't dropped despite millions spent by Wofford to demonize him. Santorum countering by making Wofford's admeisters, **James Carville** and **Paul Begala**—and their connection to the **Clinton** White House—an issue in the race. . . . Apparent failure of Democrats' negative strategy may be accounted for by far more powerful underlying trends. Pollster **Richard Wirthlin** is reporting that 63 per cent of American people think the country is "on the wrong track." And early October polling showed that for the first time since 1952 voters were answering "generic" question about whether they prefer Democrats or Republicans in Republicans' favor, by a margin of 51 to 45 per cent. . . . Democrats' "attack, attack" strategy may be backfiring in other ways. In front-page analysis, *Washington Post*'s **David Broder** wonders if decision by Coelho and Clinton pollster **Stanley Greenberg** to make **Reagan** and the Eighties an issue isn't political folly, since Reagan remains most popular of recent Presidents. . . . White House also played into GOP's hands when it had VP **Al Gore** call **Ollie North** "unpatriotic" for giving "aid and comfort" to **Saddam Hussein** by questioning U.S. military readiness. Angry response of North (a wounded Vietnam vet) at news conference with equally angry **Bob Dole** (a wounded WWII vet) drew front-page attention to Clinton-defense-cuts issues. . . . Biggest Democratic blunder may be constant attacks by Clinton himself on "Contract with America." Attacks drew attention to what Democrats had wanted to play down: the GOP's balanced-budget, term-limits, tax-reduction agenda. Attack strategy also led to Best Mixed Metaphor of the Year, as flustered Rep. **Vic Fazio** (D., Calif.) called Contract "generalized cotton candy without a bottom line."

■ Media's credibility, along with Dem incumbents, may end up casualty of '94 campaign. NBC anchorman **Tom Brokaw** "reports" that GOP's Contract with America is "long on promises but short on sound premises." . . . *Wall Street Journal* news bureau transforming itself into a second editorial page in reaction to real edit page run by conservative **Bob Bartley**. *Journal*'s "news" has included a range of indignant attacks on **Newt Gingrich**, **Michael Huffington**, and Texas GOP gubernatorial candidate **George W. Bush** as well as casual references to Senate Majority Leader **George Mitchell** as "moderate," Clinton as "centrist and pro-business," and Reagan as President of "sleepy habits" who declined to deal with "legislative or political substance." . . . GOP Chairman **Haley Barbour** is privately incensed at failure of media—which bemoans negative ads by conservatives—to hold Democrats responsible for $2 million in national ads that Barbour calls "the Big Lie campaign." Ads falsely assert GOP wants to cut Social Security.



"Give me 32 per cent of your property revenue or go directly to jail."

■ Country's conservative mood has affected even ultra-liberal Swarthmore College, long called "Kremlin on the Crum" (for nearby creek). College's student body recently voted 376 to 239 to fly American flag from Parish Hall—not done since Sixties. "Victory is achieved. The United States of America has reclaimed Swarthmore College," said student **Shannon Brown**. . . . *The Bell Curve*, by **Charles Murray** and **Richard Herrnstein**, dealing with race and intelligence, got front covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*, but *New Republic* editor **Andrew Sullivan**'s decision to run article by Murray & Herrnstein caused staff insurrection.

■ Iraqi army maneuvers against Kuwait were Saddam Hussein's attempt to get U.S. to send in **Jimmy Carter** and gain concessions, says Gulf War hero Gen. **Norman Schwarzkopf**. . . . Britain's Labour Party denied new leader **Tony Blair**'s request to remove from platform infamous "Clause 4," which calls for public ownership of industry. . . . And pro-American "Euroskeptics" gained ground at British Conservative Party conference, as former Tory Finance Minister **Norman Lamont** attacked European Union bureaucracy and its plans for common currency. . . . After seven years in Bogotà, DEA agent **Joe Toft** calls Colombia a "narco-democracy" with Cali Cartel exercising "incredible" control over country's institutions. . . . Evangelist **Jerry Falwell** attracted 10,000 people to a religious rally in Russia. . . . And **Alexander Einseln**, a retired Estonian-born U.S. army colonel, who is trying to whip the little Baltic state's defenses into shape, says he "has no plans to invade Russia before the year 3000,"

■ Binkymania is taking over in Alaska. **Binky**, a 30-year-old polar bear in Anchorage zoo, recently munched on an intrusive tourist and two drunken teenagers who went for midnight swim in her pool. Citizens touting her for office ("Binky for Governor—Take a Bite Out of Crime.") urging zookeepers to set aside a day for people to play with Binky as means of reducing her food bill and upping average test scores in Alaskan schools.

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THE WEEK

■ President Clinton's strategists are wondering how he can get a bigger bump out of Haiti and Iraq. Maybe if he were to *move* to Haiti or Iraq?

■ The Republican wall of obstruction wasn't solid enough. In the last week of Congress the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was re-authorized, mandating that states adopt federal "content" and "student performance" standards in order to get federal aid. Also nesting in the bill's 1,000 pages is plenty of other nonsense and waste: a "Gender Equity Act" mandating that teachers be trained in "gender equitable teaching and learning practices," a grant for a non-profit organization to conduct scholar–athlete games, hate-crime prevention grants, etc. Former Bush Education official Chester Finn was the first to sound the alarm on the bill, followed closely by former Education Secretaries Bill Bennett and Lamar Alexander. But their efforts came too late. Senator Dan Coats (R., Ind.) sought the votes for a filibuster, but he failed when enough Republicans were persuaded by Ted Kennedy and Co. that their states wouldn't lose federal money. Rest assured: the money will now be available to miseducate your children.

■ Did you know that last year's Clinton tax bill extends the Earned Income Tax Credit to prisoners? The Clinton regulators have ruled that prison labor qualifies as income eligible for the EITC, even though this extension would cost unincarcerated taxpayers between $2 and $3 million yearly. However, Congress's Joint Committee on Taxation has proposed closing the loophole (saving $14 million over five years)—in order to fund GATT. Just another example of how Washington works between elections.

■ A friend in Washington state whose doctor told him to avoid excitement has been going to Tom Foley rallies.

■ Majorities or no, November 8 will bring a bumper crop of new Republicans to Capitol Hill. Herewith a brief guide to some of those who, if they make it, will surely be among the principled GOP wheat rather than the go-along chaff: **Rod Grams**, currently locked in a neck-and-neck fight for a Minnesota Senate seat, is one of the few congressmen who can boast of a 100 per cent American Conservative Union rating. **Jim Inhofe**, in a tight Senate race in Oklahoma, demonstrated in last year's fight over the discharge petition that he has the guts to buck the Washington establishment. **Spencer Abraham**, slightly ahead in his Michigan Senate race, stuck to conservative principle even at Harvard Law School, where he founded an alternative law journal; he helped build the Michigan Republican Party into a formidable force in a traditionally Democratic state. All you need to know about **Helen Chenoweth**—now in a bitter fight to unseat Congressman Larry LaRocco in Idaho—is that she has drawn nationwide media attacks as the candidate of the "radical Right." **Don Devine**, trying to unseat Maryland Congressman Steny Hoyer, is a Reagan loyalist with a fitting sense of humor (he once teamed up with a man named Dick Wright to run on a "Devine–Wright" ticket). **David Funderburk**, ahead in his race for an open seat in North Carolina, is the former ambassador to Rumania who resigned in 1985 to protest U.S. coddling of Ceausescu. **Ron Freeman** in Kansas City and **J. C. Watts** in Oklahoma are both impressive, conservative, and black; if Congressman Gary Franks (Conn.) wins a third term, they'd be the start of a Republican black caucus. In Washington state, **Linda Smith**, who won the primary as a write-in candidate, is exciting, principled, and just the kind of woman the Republican Party needs; ditto for **Andrea Seastrand**, about to win the seat vacated by Michael Huffington in California. **Jack Metcalf**, likely to win an open seat in Washington state, has been fighting for the Balanced Budget Amendment and term limits since the 1960s. In Tennessee, **Zach Wamp**, running for an open seat, is a former drug user who overcame his past; as for his principles, Vic Fazio

"Abdul's fallen on hard times, but he still tries to keep up appearances."

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has cited him as one of this year's "extremist" GOP candidates, which should be enough to go on with.

■ More good news on the congressional front: with the Russians proclaiming their right to meddle in the "near abroad" and the Administration turning a blind eye, both Houses have passed the "NATO Participation Act of 1994," introduced by Representative Benjamin Gilman (R., N.Y.). The bill calls for the entry of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia into NATO "at an early date." It also authorizes U.S. military assistance and the sale of excess matériel to beef up the security of those countries even before they achieve full NATO membership. Meanwhile, Congress avoided doing irreparable damage to our system of controls on sensitive technology exports. The House Armed Services Committee blocked a bill that would have broken down what restraints remain on transfers of militarily usable technology following the demise of Cocom (the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls). Tough luck for Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and other rogues.

■ Hillary Rodham Clinton is MISSING this week. President Clinton is not, but wherever he appears on the campaign trail, Democratic candidates are.

■ According to the Census Bureau more Americans lived in poverty last year—39.3 million—than at any time since 1962. Don't believe it. As usual, in tallying the "poor," Washington ignores things like food stamps, Medicaid, housing subsidies, and Earned Income Tax Credits. These non-cash benefits were practically non-existent in 1962; they totaled well over $150 billion last year and, had they been counted, would have lowered the official poverty figure by about one-third. Within this general framework, however, trends still matter. And poverty has followed a V-shaped path since 1983. During the first leg, 1983 to 1989, the number of poor people fell by 3.8 million, according to the official count, and the poverty rate (the fraction of people living in poverty) declined from 15.2 per cent to 12.8 per cent. Since 1989, however, a whopping 7.8 million Americans have fallen into poverty. Why the change? Neither President Reagan nor his successors tamed the growth of families headed by single mothers. Their number has continued to increase throughout the entire period, and today they account for more than half the poor. But Reagan's tax cuts and deregulation created jobs and work incentives for those low-income Americans who weren't mired in the underclass. Two tax hikes later, their willingness to work has taken a nosedive.

■ While Democrats had fun with Michael Huffington's wife's religion, other people were following the story about the Order of the Solar Temple, the New Age cult that believed in imminent ecological catastrophe, and the thought occurs: has anyone seen Al Gore lately?

■ Mayor Giuliani has announced a tentative contract with New York City's 835 school custodians that carries a revolutionary provision: principals may now order school custodians to do their jobs. A prior agreement, scuttled by the mayor, provided that principals could direct them to sweep, wash, and make repairs only after "consulting" the custodians themselves. Principals may now withhold pay increases if tasks don't pass muster, and they may award 4 per cent raises for especially good work. Custodians may no longer hire one another's relatives and must punch in and out each day—and they may no longer keep cars and equipment originally bought with school funds. Custodians' salaries start at $36,000, and a cap has been set at $76,000. Who says unions have outlived their purpose?

■ Little wonder Saddam Hussein pulled his troops back from the Kuwait border. The prospect of spending hours in a room with Jimmy Carter was more than he could bear.

■ In its closing days the Senate confirmed many Clinton appointees, but Robert Pastor, the President's choice for ambassador to Panama, was not one of them. The objections to Mr. Pastor centered on his service as President Carter's top Latin America advisor. In 1980 Mr. Carter wanted to send money to the Sandinistas. Congress, however, had voted to require a presidential certification that the Sandinistas were not supplying arms to the Communist FMLN guerrillas in El Salvador before aid could flow, and the Sandinistas were doing just that. Mr. Pastor, by twisting the facts and manipulating the legal language, managed to get the certification issued anyway; Congress never got the facts. The evidence is contained in official documents, many hitherto secret, compiled by Senator Jesse Helms and his tenacious staff. Interpreted favorably, these documents show

The Symbol of Change

Like gouty Louis, hauled back from
Damp years in England, nearly numb,
Proclaiming once again the theme
That nothing beats the Old Regime,
The President reads from a script
Coelho dug up from the crypt
Where nostrums tried by FDR
Lure goo-goos when the door's ajar.

W. H. VON DREELE

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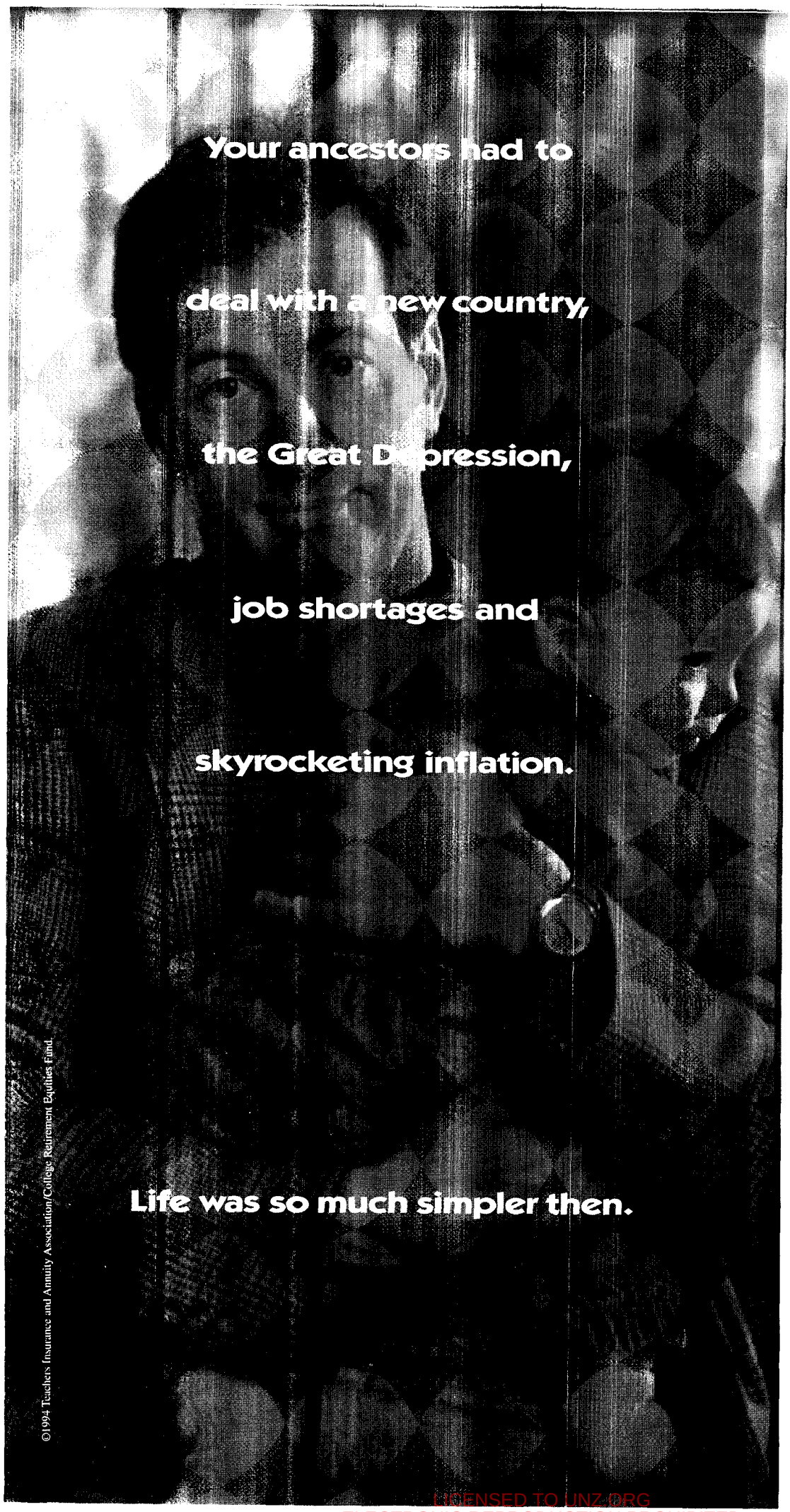

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Mr. Pastor obfuscating; interpreted less favorably, they show him withholding information from Congress and violating the certification law. For less than this, men such as Oliver North and Elliott Abrams were prosecuted by Lawrence Walsh. No one suggests prosecuting Mr. Pastor; but no one should be proposing him for an ambassadorship either. Hats off—not for the first time—to Senator Helms.

■ An embarrassment for the Clinton Administration on the foreign-policy front is the disappearance of a disillusioned Raymond Flynn from his post as U.S. ambassador to the Vatican. According to the *Catholic World Report*, the former mayor of Boston is playing hooky for a variety of personal, financial, and perhaps doctrinal reasons. He has returned to the U.S., reportedly for treatment for a neck injury, but not without denouncing the Clinton State Department as rife with anti-Catholics. He also continues to opt out of Democratic fundraisers—strange for a man who used to hobnob with the best of them. Mr. Flynn was even spotted at a Mass in Boston offered by Cardinal Law for the success of the Vatican at the Cairo Conference. Imagine that, giving "aid and comfort" to the spiritual enemy. Timothy Wirth should have had him locked in his hotel room.

■ Ira Magaziner is said to be lobbying to play a major role in a new attempt at health-care reform next year: Giving him another crack at health care would be like giving Walter Mondale another crack at Ronald Reagan.

■ In early October the bodies of two young men were discovered on a railroad embankment in Laurel, Mississippi. Each had been shot in the head at close range. An empty billfold was lying nearby. National gay-rights groups and representatives of Camp Sister Spirit, a "feminists retreat" not far from Laurel, cried "hate crime." But aside from the fact that the two men were gay, there was no reason to believe that the accused killer, a local 16-year-old apprehended a few days later, was motivated by hatred of homosexuals. Both law-enforcement authorities and the victims' friends rejected the allegation, which seemed to be an attempt to make political hay out of a tragedy. More to the point, it's not clear why the assailant's views on homosexuality would make the crime a greater outrage. Is it worse to kill someone because his lifestyle offends you than it is to kill him for a few bucks? Some Americans still find robbery and cold-blooded murder appalling enough.

■ Contrary to what you've come to expect, virtue is still sometimes rewarded. *The Loss of Virtue*, co-published by National Review Books and the London-based Social Affairs Unit, and edited by *NR* contributing editor Digby Anderson, has just received the Sir Antony Fisher International Memorial Award. The Fisher award is for the year's best book to come out of a think tank, in this case the Social Affairs Unit, which Mr. Anderson directs. (A paperback edition of the book has just been published, aimed especially at those for whom virtue has proved its own reward.) The award is administered by the Atlas Foundation in Virginia, an organization devoted to supporting the work of, well, virtuous think tanks. Congratulations, also, to the libertarian theorist Murray Rothbard (author of the magisterial and recently re-issued *Man, Economy, and State*) and Wendell Berry, the novelist and poet, who received this year's Ingersoll Prizes from the Rockford Institute.

■ The White House can't pay a $500,000 phone bill and says it's an administrative problem. Right, talking too much.

Persons Unknown

IF A PANEL of 19 experts at the National Institutes of Health has its way, 1994 will go down as a year in which mankind crossed another threshold from which there will be no return. The Human Embryo Research panel has recommended federal funding for scientists who produce embryos in the laboratory for the purpose of conducting experiments that will destroy them.

The recommendation is meeting with some resistance, but it will take immediate and aggressive congressional action to block government funding. (The NIH is accepting written comments on the panel's recommendations until November 1. Division of Science Policy Analysis, National Institutes of Health, 9000 Rockville Pike, Building 1, Room 218, Bethesda, Md. 20892.) The *Washington Post* called the panel's proposal "unconscionable," and went on to argue that supporting "abortion rights" does not mean "erasing society's ability to make distinctions." In fact, there is a strong overlap with abortion, but even people who think that it is justified to kill an unborn child in some circumstances can see the difference between abortion and producing human beings in the laboratory in order to use and then discard them.

The NIH panel has rendered one valuable service. The old debate about when human life begins is definitively laid to rest. The panel's report recognizes what the scientifically informed always knew, that human life begins at the moment of conception. But from that point of scientific lucidity the experts wander off into an ethical and philosophical fog. They propose that, until implantation in the womb (usually 14 days after conception), the embryo should be considered "not protectable," enabling scientists to do what they want with it. Certain limits are discussed, but the escape

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clause in every case is that exceptions should be made "for serious and compelling reasons." For instance, it is noted that, when laboratory animals will not serve the research in question, there is a serious and compelling reason for using human beings.

The question engaged here is the difference between human beings and animals. The panel fudges this by focusing attention on the alleged difference between an embryo and a "person." A person, we are told, is a human being who has "qualities" that we find "compelling." Human beings have no rights *as such*. The report is remarkably candid in claiming that it is up to us to decide which human beings are persons, and are therefore "protectable," and which not. This lethal logic could apply to the born as well as the unborn. The panel cites an article written by one of its members, "Toward a Copernican Revolution in Our Thinking about Life's Beginning and Life's End." The proposal is indeed revolutionary. It is a revolution about which the American people have not been consulted and to which they would certainly not give their consent.

Who will live and who will die? Who belongs to the community protected by law? Such questions cannot be decided by a government-appointed committee of experts. The panel claims that it is not embracing a particular philosophy or moral viewpoint. That is nonsense. The panel's moral philosophy is an embarrassingly crude version of utilitarianism: the end justifies the means. And, if the end is "serious and compelling" enough, it seems that it can justify any means. One of the foundation stones of Western civilization is that a human being is always to be treated as an end and never as a means. No longer, not if the NIH prevails. Its panel would establish in regulatory law the principle that human beings who lack the "qualities" that we find compelling are "non-persons" who can be used and discarded as we see fit. The very young, the very old, the very retarded, the very burdensome—we who are certified as persons will decide whether they should be admitted to the circle of "protectability."

The panel claims that it is recommending a "reasonable accommodation" of different viewpoints. In fact, the chairman announced at the panel's first meeting that it would be "inappropriate" to include on the panel anyone who opposed the research it wants the government to fund. In further fact, some of the members of the panel are doing precisely the kind of experiments for which they are seeking government funds. This turns what is supposedly an advisory panel of experts into a self-interested lobbying group.

The experiments endorsed by the Human Embryo Research Panel should not be federally funded. They should not be done, period. They should be prohibited by law. A prohibition may not be entirely effective, but then, neither is any prohibition against great evil. The panel's proposed Copernican Revolution in redefining human life is a great evil. It was not very long ago that a war was fought to defeat the odious doctrine that the powerful have the right to decide which human beings are, and which are not, entitled to the protection of law. The lives of the powerless are at stake. Also at stake is our own humanity.

It's His Forte

Saddam Hussein may be a nut
Who couldn't run a Pizza Hut,
But when it comes to yo-yos, he's
Exhibited such expertise,
George Bush wound up and down the string,
And now Bill Clinton's yo-yo-ing.

W. H. VON DREELE

Middle-Class Blues

THE "Contract with America" has taken some nasty hits. Most Democrats, and not a few Republicans, view the mixture of tax cuts and spending restraints as warmed-over Reaganomics. If you loved the Decade of Greed, say the critics, you should like the Contract.

For a different slant, there is the government's latest report on family income. It could have been written by the Republican National Committee. Census Bureau data show that in 1992–93 the median American household—the very middle of the middle class—saw its income shrink by about $300, to $31,241. The decline since 1989, the peak of the 1980s expansion, adds up to $2,344 (in constant 1993 dollars) or 7 per cent.

The decline in middle-class incomes, occurring at a time of economic growth, surprised most analysts. It is not without precedent, however. Living standards for the middle class and lower income groups also shrank in the late 1970s, while overall economic averages were rising. Then, as now, all income groups except the very richest suffered declines despite (or rather because of) explicitly redistributionist policies.

The Reagan years were conspicuously different. Median household income rose every year between 1982 and 1989, a cumulative real advance of $3,200, or 10.5 per cent. The unprecedented longevity of the Reagan recovery forced journalists to find something else to write about. They discovered inequality, stressing the fact that the *share* of income earned by the poorest fifth of American households fell. Most journalists overlooked the more important reality, namely that the average *income* of the poorest fifth of American households shot up 14 per cent between 1982 and 1989. Those gains have since been lost.

In 1980 Ronald Reagan could appeal to the middle class and the wealthy together as victims of excessive

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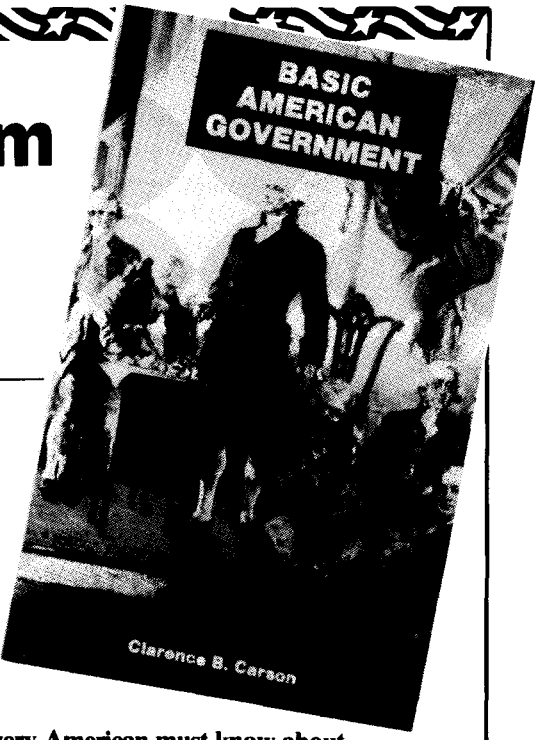

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taxation. By the end of the decade the alliance had broken down. Middle-class aversion to tax hikes no longer included an aversion to taxes paid by the wealthy. Five years and two tax hikes later, the middle class is poorer, and perhaps wiser. Americans want tax cuts. And insofar as the Contract with America is meeting some skepticism, it's because people have learned to doubt the sincerity of politicians.

Foreign Policy, Stupid

PRESIDENT Clinton has learned, to his evident discomfort, that foreign policy can't be left to the pollsters while he focuses on his domestic agenda. He has been besieged by crises—some made more likely or more difficult by others' perception that he was inattentive or worse.

Mr. Clinton deserves some credit. Israel and Jordan are moving rapidly toward peace. Our Iran policy is sound (see p. 66). And the President's performance in the recent mini-showdown with Saddam Hussein was strong. Saddam's menacing movement of elite Republican Guard troops toward the Kuwaiti border called for an immediate response. The U.S. reaction was impressive; an armada of sea and air power was quickly organized, and Saddam was forced back. Just as skillfully, the Administration got UN support and has managed (so far) to deflect mischievous Russian diplomatic moves designed to lift sanctions in return for Iraqi recognition of Kuwait's borders. Saddam deserves no rewards now; his recognition of Kuwait should be unconditional. In any case, the Administration is right to insist that sanctions continue, *inter alia* as a restraint on Iraq's clandestine nuclear-weapons program.

The bad news is that Saddam's miscalculation was invited by Mr. Clinton's earlier poor performance. In both the North Korean and Haitian episodes, the *wimpus ex machina*, Jimmy Carter, gave the clear impression of a U.S. Government that shrank from the use of force. Saddam must have figured Mr. Carter would give him at least half of what he wanted. Like JFK between the Bay of Pigs and the Missile Crisis, Mr. Clinton stumbled into success—misleading his adversary by weakness beforehand.

More important, the Iraq affair dramatizes the weakness of the Clinton defense policy. The Administration's own doctrine—that we must be able to handle two major regional crises simultaneously—has been undermined by our defense cutbacks; its importance has been underlined by crises in Haiti, Rwanda, Bosnia, North Korea, and the Gulf. (One of the most important elements in the House Republicans' "Contract with America" was their highlighting of that fact. For too long, the Republicans, spooked by Jim Carville, had been afraid to take up the issue.)

With current successes in both Iraq and Haiti, however, President Clinton's foreign policy seems to be on a roll. But in Haiti even more than in Iraq, it is wise to reserve judgment. The hard part comes now, as the priest/bolshevik Aristide mobilizes the masses to restore his political base, while the forces that despise him remain entrenched and unreconciled. The U.S. troops are sitting on a powder keg: since the U.S. is committed to defending Aristide, we won't be neutral if a civil war breaks out. The ghosts of earlier "peacekeeping" ventures in Lebanon and Somalia (both of which began in deceptively benign circumstances) have not yet been exorcised.

North Korea, also, looks dicey. The Administration has struck a deal with Pyongyang on its nuclear program. We seem to have given up any near-term hope of getting a look at two suspect waste sites that would reveal what weapons-grade nuclear material has already been diverted; the deal is more explicit as to what bribe we can pay (a new nuclear reactor, diplomatic recognition, economic relations) to get the North Koreans to halt further activity (at least at the facilities we know about). The message sent loud and clear to other thugs is that it pays to go nuclear—you'll end up with either the Bomb, or Western largesse, or both.

Fiat Lux

NOTHING is more symbolic of Mario Cuomo's limitless faith in government than his eleventh-hour pre-election proposal to spend $9 billion of New York taxpayers' money to take over the Long Island Lighting Company. Promising a 10 per cent reduction of utility rates to the crucial Long Island voting area, Governor Cuomo is actually asking people to believe that the same state government that spent at several times the inflation rate and taxed heavily to fund explosive mandates on Medicaid, welfare, and education, with a resulting massive job loss and decaying economy, deserves to *expand* its operations by going into the utility business.

There is no question that Lilco's private electricity monopoly is costly and inefficient, but turning it into a state monopoly is surely not the answer. Instead, competition should be promoted through a deregulatory policy that allows "retail wheeling." In recent years the development of long-distance transmission lines has enabled hundreds of independent power producers to link together in a new electricity superhighway. This would permit electricity consumers to purchase cheap power from the seller of their choice—if government regulation didn't stop them.

Private monopolists such as Lilco oppose deregulatory access to cheaper electricity because the current system subsidizes their poorly run business and

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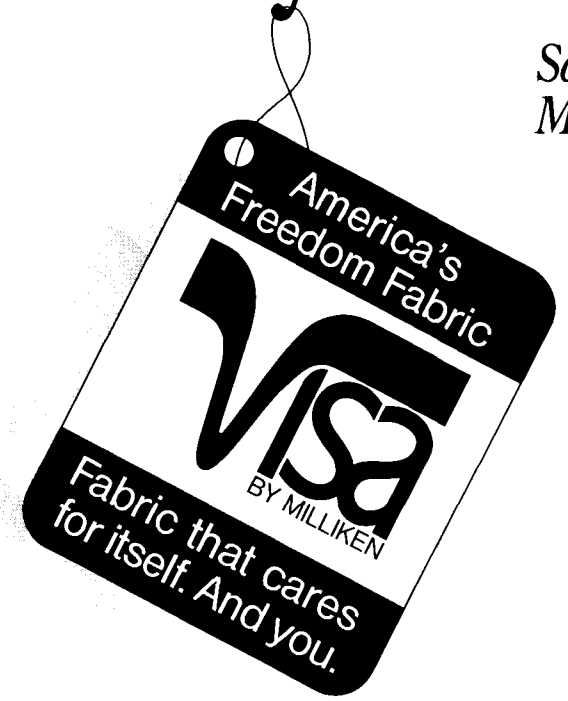

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keeps them afloat. They have been joined by anti-business environmentalists who want to protect demand-side management schemes that use utility monopolies to hold down consumption in the name of conservation.

GOP gubernatorial candidate George Pataki should dismiss Governor Cuomo's takeover scheme as another goofy governmental power grab. Moreover, in a state that has lost nearly 500,000 jobs in the last four years and that suffers from one of the largest tax and utility cost burdens in the nation, Mr. Pataki should complement his pro-growth tax-cut plan with a clear deregulatory strategy that would substitute market competition for private/public monopoly. Then New York businesses could truly plug into the global economy.

Thermidor in the Sexual Revolution?

MOVE OVER, Kinsey. A team of sociologists—Edward Laumann, Robert Michael, Stuart Michaels, and John Gagnon—has completed the most thorough study of American sexual behavior ever done. Laumann et al. worked with the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, the all-stars of survey research, to select 3,500 subjects, ranging in age from 18 to 59, who would make up a random cross-section of the population. The findings were surprisingly, well, conservative. Americans turn out to be predominantly monogamous. Almost three-quarters of the married men, and 85 per cent of the married women, said they had been faithful. They are also overwhelmingly straight. Only 2.7 per cent of the men and 1.3 per cent of the women said they had engaged in homosexual sex in the last year. So much for the one-in-ten orthodoxy.

That discredited percentage—like much of our sexual conventional wisdom—came from Alfred Kinsey's 1948 best-seller, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. Specialists have long known that Kinsey's research was unreliable, but the Laumann report has compelled the mainstream media to acknowledge this with brutal frankness. Thus *Time*: "Kinsey took his human subjects where he could find them: in boardinghouses, college fraternities, prisons and mental wards. . . . It was hardly a random cross-section." This is the second lesson of the Laumann report: Professor Kinsey and the horde of popularizers and *soi-disant* researchers who followed in his wake were not neutral observers but cheerleaders, exhorting us to emigrate to a brave new world which they described as if we were already there. Their "findings" were embraced by an entertainment industry eager to cash in on titillation.

Most Americans went on to lead normal, moral lives, despite what they heard on the radio or saw on the tube. Yet even inaccurate ideas have consequences. The Laumann report notes that half of all black males have engaged in sexual intercourse by age 15; by age 17, half of all white males have done so. These dry figures point to the increase of teen pregnancy in recent years. This is the empty, icy depth of the sexual revolution, which has not yet experienced a Thermidorean thaw. Those most vulnerable to sexual hype turn out to be the young, particularly the young poor. George Gilder, go to the head of the class.

Home Thoughts

NATIONAL REVIEW was happy to endorse Ron K. Unz in California's Republican primary to punish Governor Pete Wilson's Bush-style betrayal of his party's anti-tax principles. We applaud Mr. Unz's courageous campaign for the California Civil Rights Initiative, the potentially revolutionary anti-quota measure due on the ballot in 1996. And we appreciate his civility in his pro-immigration article starting on page 54 of this issue. Nevertheless, in essence his argument is that of a romantic dreamer. To the extent that it beguiles conservatives, it can only hasten the erosion of the American nation as we know it.

Like most immigration enthusiasts, Mr. Unz appears to be unaware of the recent evidence of deteriorating immigrant skills provided by the 1990 Census, or of the reappraisal of immigration that has been going on among academic economists for the last decade. (Recommended reading: "The Economics of Immigration," a definitive survey article by Professor George J. Borjas in the December *Journal of Economic Literature*.) The usual happy-talk anecdotes can no longer outweigh the ominous reality that, for example, immigrant welfare participation is now 9.1 per cent, in contrast to an average participation by native Americans of 7.4 per cent and a white-native of around 5 per cent. This is a disturbing change. As late as 1970 immigrants were less prone to welfare than natives. All by itself, this is conclusive evidence that our immigration policy is broke and needs fixing. Similarly, the optimism about immigrants' fiscal impact is now widely questioned.

Significantly, Mr. Unz makes the mistake of leaving out refugees, notoriously welfare-prone, from his estimate of immigrant welfare participation. But this trick, first played on Mr. Unz and a pliant media in a recent much-publicized report by the immigration-enthusiastic Urban Institute [see "The Week," August 29], is obviously fraudulent. At over 100,000 a year, the refugee inflow that was institutionalized by the 1980 Refugee Act has become a substantial component

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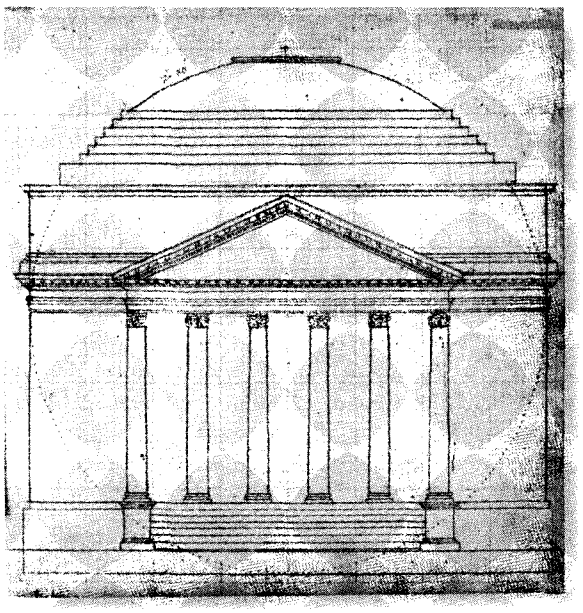

Jefferson's design for the library at the University of Virginia, circa 1817

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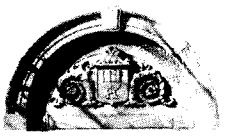

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of legal immigration. If Mr. Unz does not like the undeniably catastrophic result, he could propose reform—but he does not, nor does he propose reform of any other aspect, legal or illegal, of our chaotic immigration system.

Not being aware of recent evidence, however, is only part of Mr. Unz's problem. More serious is his failure to think through the immigration issue in principle. Thus he should ask himself, when next tempted to over-generalize from his experiences with Korean grocers and Hispanic busboys in California: *Who performs these functions in the 45 U.S. states not yet seriously affected by immigration? Or in Japan, where there has been essentially no immigration at all?*

Not only does Japan have groceries and restaurants, but its economy has grown far faster than the United States', for a reason that goes to the heart of Mr. Unz's case: marginal increases in labor, especially the relatively unskilled labor that is perversely selected by our current immigration policy, are not particularly important as a factor of production—especially in a huge, deeply capitalized economy like that of the United States. Indeed, Mr. Unz unwittingly concedes this point by stressing how many immigrants are in low-wage, i.e., economically marginal, jobs.

Immigration can bring benefits, as—debatably—in Mr. Unz's Silicon Valley. (Although even if immigrants were responsible for *all* of Silicon Valley, which they emphatically are not, that's still only 2 per cent of U.S. output.) But overall, it achieves very little that Americans could not do for themselves with appropriate policies. This reality is widely, if quietly, conceded even by economists who share Mr. Unz's immigration enthusiasm. As Professor Julian Simon wrote here in 1993: "I don't claim to show that [immigration] is 'necessary'; we can live nicely without it."

IT IS in this context that Mr. Unz's political prescription must be judged. Crudely put, he is telling conservatives that rape is inevitable and they should relax and enjoy it.

Of course, rape is not inevitable. Legal immigration was stopped dead in the 1920s by legislation; illegal immigration in the 1950s by the Eisenhower Administration's Operation Wetback. Both could be stopped—or reduced—again.

And the rape may not be enjoyable. This is exactly what Mr. Unz's own numbers suggest. He concedes that "nearly all" Asian and Hispanic leaders are liberal Democrats, but protests that "40 to 50 per cent" of the Asian and Hispanic vote goes Republican—which by our (admittedly literary/political) computation means that 50 to 60 per cent of their vote goes Democratic. Additionally, he asserts that Hispanics are "classic Reagan Democrats." But the Census data show that welfare participation and family dysfunction among most Hispanic and some Asian groups are already radically higher than among white Americans, in some cases approaching those of black Americans.

And speaking of black Americans, they may well be disproportionately responsible for some social problems, as Mr. Unz bluntly says. If so, is it wise to exacerbate their plight by exposing unskilled workers to intense wage competition? Black Americans are, after all, Americans—which many inhabitants of Mr. Unz's San José are not and may never be, regardless of their crime rate.

Mr. Unz fears, again to put it crudely, that if the Republican Party resists rape, it will provoke violence against itself. But opinion polls show consistently that overwhelming majorities of Americans of all categories oppose further immigration—as also do immigrants themselves (and not just those who write for NATIONAL REVIEW).

Current immigration policy offers risk without reward. For Republicans to oppose it would be both principled and popular. To adapt columnist Don Feder, announcing his own painful change of mind: It is time for Republican immigration enthusiasts to stop emoting (however romantically) and start thinking.

Mr. Cisneros Regrets

Like Miss Otis, who scribbled her hostess
That a hanging would cancel their lunch,
Henry's written a note to Miss Reno,
Who's still staggering under the punch
Espy landed—while Whitewater lingers
And Miss Jones keeps presenting her bill;
So it's tough, but did dough for the girlfriend
Come from Hank or the federal till?

W. H. VON DREELE

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Last month I was sunbathing on the campus green at Brown University and discovered the following: with a small amount of suntan lotion, moderate pressure for ten minutes, and otherwise very little effort, your magazine cover transferred in full color onto my skin. I am wondering if you could print the magazine title backward, so as to transfer properly as a readable "tattoo." I think it would be a big hit here on the East Side.

Sincerely,
A Young Adherent,
Barbara Rose
Providence, R.I.

Dear Miss Rose: I will talk to the art people instanter. Thanks for the idea. Cordially, WFB

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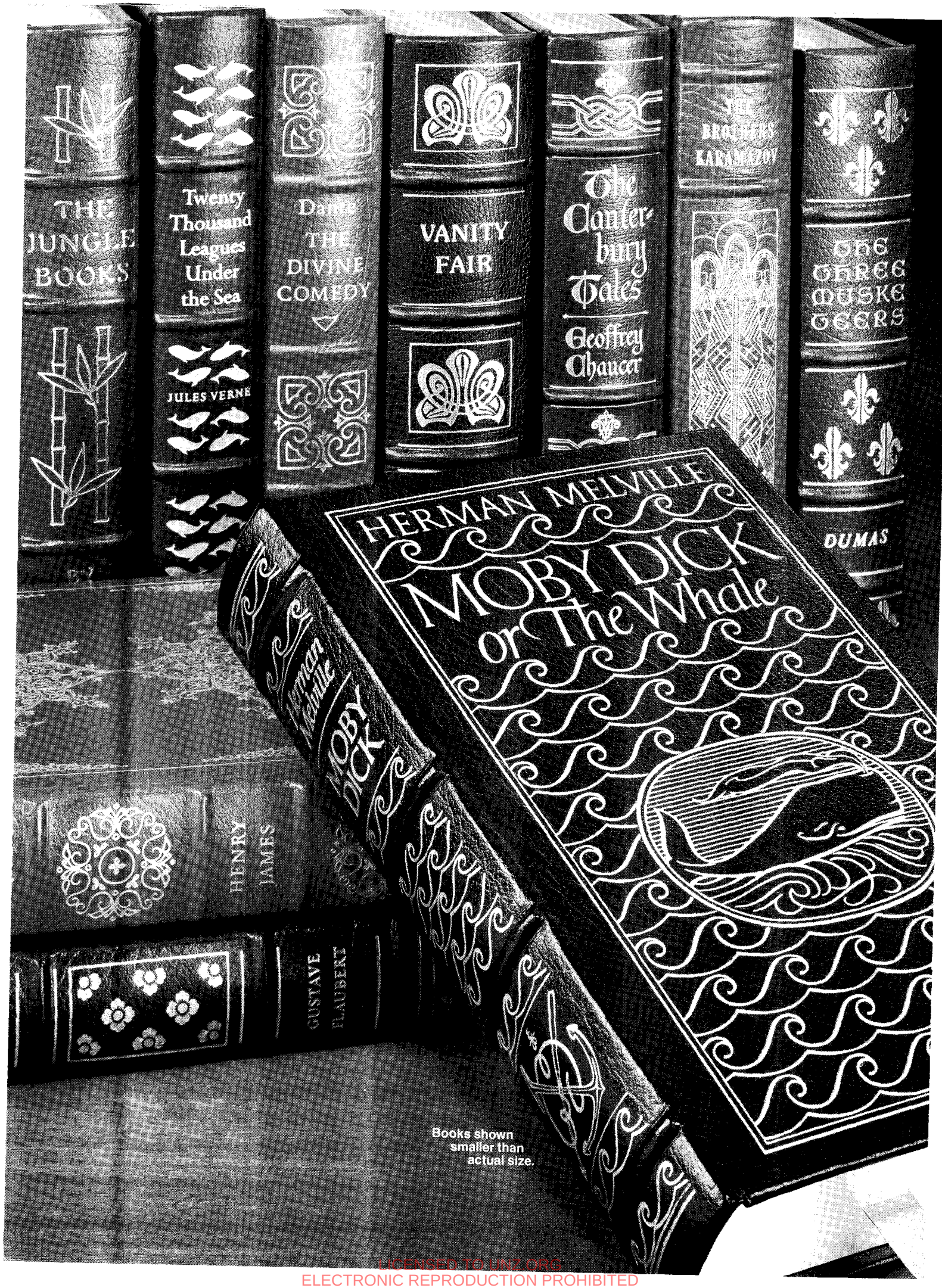

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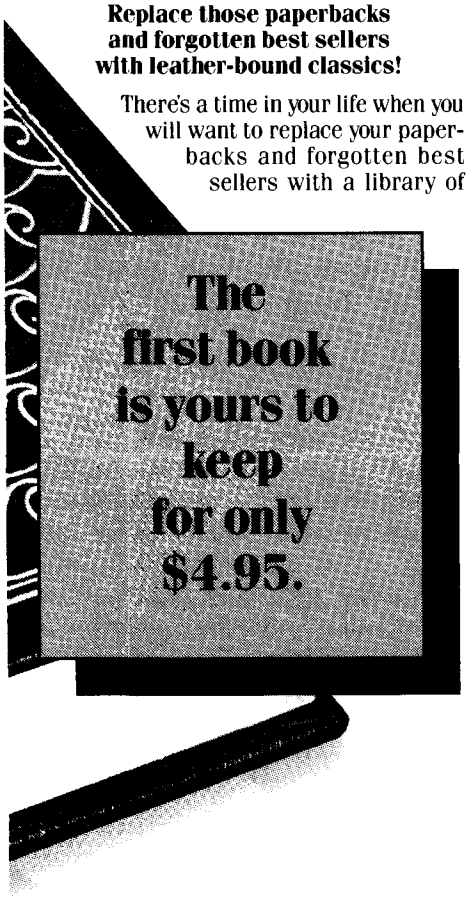

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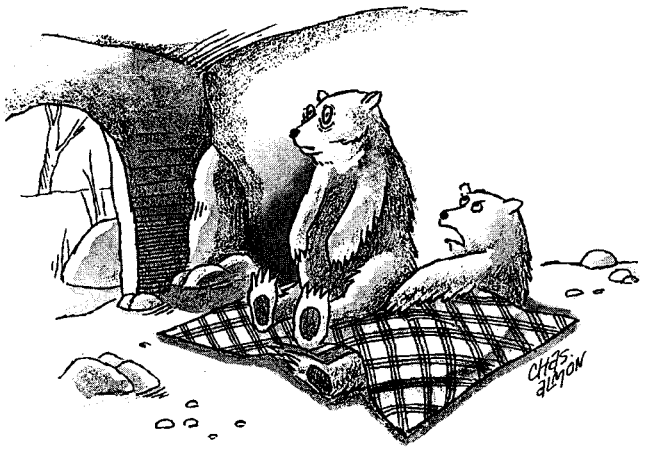

"How many times have I told you, no coffee after September!"

■ Memo to: WFB
From: Ed Capano

Bill: You might want to share some excerpts from a readers' survey just in.

1994 SURVEY RESULTS
MediaMark Research, Inc.

On average, out of 4 issues published, how many issues of *NR* do you read?: 4 out of 4: 74.5%; 3 out of 4: 10.6% . . .

To which publications do you currently subscribe? *American Heritage:* 9.7%; *The Atlantic:* 4.5%; *Barron's:* 5.4%; *Business Week:* 8.4%; *The Economist:* 6.9%; *Forbes:* 14.3%; *Foreign Affairs:* 2.4%; *Fortune:* 5.4%; *Harper's:* 1.5%; *National Journal:* 0.18%; *The New Republic:* 2.8%; *Newsweek:* 12.1%; *Roll Call:* 7.4%; *Scientific American:* 3.7%; *Smithsonian:* 13.7%; *The New Yorker:* 4.6%; *The Wall Street Journal:* 22.5%; *Time:* 11.3%; *U.S. News & World Report:* 25.6%; None of these: 32.7%.

Which of these have you done in the last 12 months? Voted in federal, state, local election: 82.1%; Written to the editor of a magazine or newspaper: 25.3%; Written or telephoned a radio or television station: 23.8%; Written to an elected official about public business: 50.0%; Written something that has been published: 15.4%; Personally visited an elected official to express a point of view: 14.1%; Addressed a public meeting: 22.0%; Taken an active part in some local civic issue: 25.0%; Actively worked for a political party/candidate: 15.4%; Engaged in fund raising: 18.6%; Actively worked as a volunteer (non-political): 32.3%; Donated to charity: 82.3%.

Activities: Attend music or dance performances: 55.0%; Attend movies: 69.0%; Entertain friends or relatives at home: 89.0%; Go to live theater: 39.0%; Go to museums: 47.0%; Play golf: 29.0%; Play tennis: 13.5%; Visit art show or gallery: 32.0%; Watch public television: 88.0%.

How many cars do you or members of your household own?: One: 45.1%; Two: 32.1%; Three: 8.0%; . . . None: 11.1%.

Total value of investment portfolio: Under $10,000: 17.3%; $10,000 to $24,999: 9.6%; $25,000 to $49,999: 7.8%; $50,000 to $74,999: 10.0%; $75,000 to $99,999: 5.6%; $100,000 to $149,000: 9.6%; . . . $1 million or more: 4.5%.

Do you personally own a valid passport? Yes: 51.3%; No: 47.4%.

Belong to a frequent-flyer program?: Yes: 42.0%; No: 56.0%.

Have you taken a trip outside continental U.S. or Alaska or Hawaii in last 3 years? Yes: 53.0%; No: 47.0%.

Which of these places did you visit in last 3 years? Alaska: 4.0%; Canada: 17.0%; Mexico: 16.0%; Hawaii: 11.0%; South America: 3.3%; Ireland/UK: 10.6%; France: 7.0%; Germany: 19.0%; Switzerland: 5.6%; Italy: 4.5%; Greece: 1.7%; Holland: 3.0%; Scandinavia: 3.9%; Spain/Portugal: 31.6%; Soviet Union: 1.8%; Other Eastern European countries: 2.4%; Israel: 1.3%; Japan: 3.3.%; Other Asian countries: 4.2%; Australia/New Zealand/South Pacific: 3.0%; Africa: 1.1%;

Do you use a PC at work? Yes: 49.8%; No: 43.0%.

Do you or household member use a PC at home? Yes: 60.0%; No: 40.0%.

Purpose of PC at home? Word processing: 48.3%; Personal financial management: 30.0%; Education: 22.0%; Business/professional use: 32.0%; Telecommunications, news & information services: 15.2%; Desktop publishing: 10.0%; Home entertainment/video games: 22.5%.

Sex: Male: 82.3%; Female: 17.7%.

Age: Median: 48.2; Mean: 50.0.

Marital status: Married: 65.6%; Widowed: 7.0%; Separated or divorced: 9.0%; Single never married: 14.3%; Living together, not married: 1.8%.

Education: Some high school or less: 1.4%; Graduated from high school: 8.5%; Attended college less than 1 year: 3.3%; Attended college 1 to 3 years: 21.1%; Graduated from 4-year college: 20.2%; Postgraduate study w/out degree: 12.4%; Master's degree: 14.4%; Doctoral degree: 7.0%; Other professional degree: 9.1%.

Household income: Median: $63,900; Mean: $95,500.

Household net worth: Under $50,000: 13.0%; . . . $1,000,000 or more: 11.5%.

Primary place of residence: Own house: 73.7%; Own co-op/condo: 5.0%; Rent house: 6.0%; Rent apartment: 9.5%.

Present employment status: Employed full-time: 61.0%; Part-time: 6.7%; Temporarily unemployed: 0.5%; Full-time student: 2.8%; Retired: 24.7%; Homemaker: 2.2%.

Business ownership: Owner: 14.1%; Partner: 5.0%.

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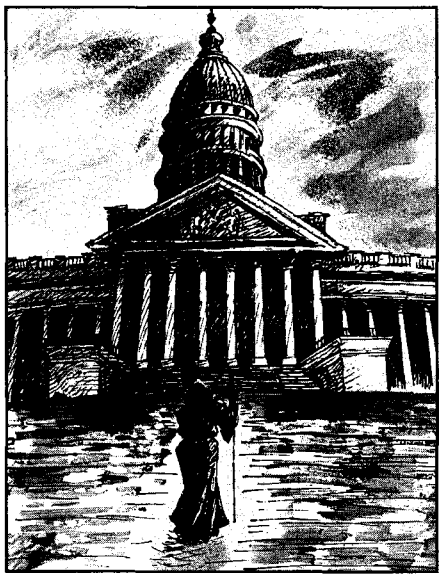
ON THE SCENE

Go Forth, Abraham

DANIEL D. POLSBY



Konstantin Vlaov

DETROIT

REPUBLICAN prospects of winning back control of the Senate this November turn in no small part on how things go in Michigan, where Don Riegle, politically ruined by the Keating Five scandal, is taking a long-deserved retirement. His replacement will be either Democrat Bob Carr, the perennial congressman from the 8th District, or Spencer Abraham, erstwhile deputy chief of Dan Quayle's vice presidential staff and for nine years chairman of Michigan's Republican Party.

So closely contested were all of the major races in Michigan's primary election on August 2 that the newspapers did not announce the winners until their Thursday editions. Democrats were expected to nominate Mr. Carr, who was first elected to Congress in 1974, and eventually he did squeak past five opponents, receiving 28 per cent of the votes. On the Republican side, things were more unpredictable. Mr. Abraham's opponent, talk-radio personality Ronna Romney, polled ahead of him all summer long in public-opinion surveys, where her former father-in-law's famous name made her a special favorite of voters old enough to remember George Romney as Michigan's governor in the 1960s. But Mr. Abraham, much preferred among younger voters, combined characteristically strong organization with a flawless final week of campaigning and won with 52 per cent.

The Carr–Abraham face-off remained a statistical tie through September; recent polls have shown Mr. Abraham inching into the lead. Credit his exemplary campaign and Governor Engler's growing lead over Howard Wolpe. Had the race boiled down to money, Mr. Abraham would have had a problem, because Mr. Carr seems to have well-heeled supporters all over the country. Possibly Mr. Carr's widespread network of admirers has something to do with his chairmanship of the Transportation Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, the chokepoint through which lush federal subsidies to highway, mass-transit, and airport projects must pass. Gannett News Service reported that most of Mr. Carr's contributions have been coming from out-of-state sources and in big chunks, especially from transportation-industry PACs representing companies such as Federal Express, United Airlines, and Northwest Airlines. By contrast, most of Mr. Abraham's contributors are from Michigan, and most are individuals who have given under $200; only 3 per cent of his contributions have come from PACs.

Though Mr. Carr may have an edge in money and in the backing of the United Auto Workers, with 475,000 members in the state, Mr. Abraham probably has an organizational advantage. In this arena he is very nearly a genius, one of the finest nuts-and-bolts political technicians of his generation.

Mr. Abraham's introduction to politics was as a campaign aide for Richard Headlee, the GOP candidate beaten by Democrat James Blanchard in the 1982 gubernatorial election. Though Mr. Headlee was a conservative and a somewhat polarizing figure in Michigan politics in that period, Mr. Abraham retained a reputation as a non-ideological party man. In February 1983, at the age of 30, he was elected chairman of a state Republican Party that was demoralized, exhausted, and $450,000 in debt. Democrats controlled both houses of the state legislature, and Republicans did not hold a single statewide office.

In a special election 12 months later, Republicans assumed control of the state Senate for the first time in ten years. The proximate cause of this upheaval was the recall of two freshman Senate Democrats because of a petition campaign dominated by mad-as-hell tax protestors. But unfocused, undisciplined political rage is generally unproductive. Republicans were able to capitalize on it in this instance because they had done their homework. Particularly in special elections, effective organization at the precinct level is crucial to make sure that everybody knows what to do and when. The triumph was widely credited to Mr. Abraham. He also showed himself to be a tenacious fundraiser. In that one year he wiped out the party's debt and banked an additional $2.5 million.

In November 1984, Republicans made further gains. Not only did Michigan give President Reagan the largest re-election margin of any industrial state, 59 per cent, but Republicans were widely successful in state races for the first time in many years. They gained a majority on the state Board of Education, picking up all eight open seats; they also won two out of three state Supreme Court seats and a seat in Congress. Even more telling, Republicans were successful in dozens of contests for membership on county boards of commissioners.

In 1990, with Mr. Abraham in his fourth term as party chairman, state Senate Majority Leader John Engler beat Mr. Blanchard to become governor. Mr. Engler is no more liberal than was Mr. Headlee; rather, the political

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climate in Michigan had changed. In fact, an almost complete transformation of the state's politics had occurred on Mr. Abraham's watch. Ronald Reagan can take some of the credit. Much of the GOP's new strength is drawn from Reagan Democrats. But Reagan Democrats are to be found everywhere in the country, and most of them are still regularly voting for Democrats, especially for state offices. In Michigan, that is beginning to change. In November 1992, shortly after Mr. Abraham stepped down as party chairman, Republicans tied the Democrats for control of the state House, emerging from the minority for the first time since 1968.

The contrast between Mr. Carr and Mr. Abraham is sharp. Mr. Carr supported the Omnibus Crime Act and favors some version of the Clintons' health-care package. He voted against NAFTA and, three years ago, against the Gulf War resolution. He is, in brief, a standard-issue 1990s Democrat, as safe a vote for the majority party's agenda as the man he would replace.

Mr. Abraham's issues are tax and regulatory relief. From the vice president's office he piloted the White House Council on Competitiveness, the solitary spark in the thousand points of darkness that marked the Bush Administration's domestic policies. He also supports free trade, term limits, and educational reform. He is, in brief, a standard-issue 1990s Republican.

The GOP's opportunity in Michigan goes well beyond picking up another vote for Bob Dole as majority leader. Mr. Abraham can contribute some of the political gravitas that has so often been conspicuous by its absence in the Republican Senate caucus. It is not that there is a shortage of bright, industrious senators, but that much of the brightness is squandered on old and marginal political paradigms or on ambitions to run for higher office. Meanwhile, who's minding the store?

Among their other political assets over the last few decades, Senate Democrats have simply had more first-string institutional players than the Republicans have. Mr. Abraham has the sound policy instincts and effective political skills to redress some of this imbalance. Whether or not they recapture the Senate this fall, Republicans will need someone with Mr. Abraham's talents. □

The Silver Foot Kicks Back

WILLIAM MURCHISON

DALLAS

SHE's soooooo cute; and soooooo funny—or so the press duly assures us, whenever the opportunity arises.

On such a showing Governor Ann W. Richards of Texas should be riding high in her re-election bid. Instead she's dead even in the polls with the son of the man she accused, in her national oratorical debut at the 1988 Democratic National Convention, of having entered the world "with a silver foot in his mouth."

George W. Bush, son of George H. W. Bush, could be the next governor of the nation's second most populous state. How would that be for revenge? Nice. And how would it be for the State of Texas? Nicer yet.

The woman whom *Texas Republic* magazine calls "the most liberal governor in Texas history" would be dead meat, politically speaking, were she not soooooo cute, etc. That Ann Richards, superstar, is in such tight straits is the clearest indication possible that Democrats in general and Bill Clinton in particular are in big trouble hereabouts. It's looking like a Republican year in Texas.

This stands to reason. Texas, a generally conservative state, never has cottoned to the Clintons. Even with fellow Texan Ross Perot in the race, George H. W. Bush carried the Lone Star State in 1992. Clinton has drawn shouts and jeers ever since from Texans. "He's a drag on the whole Democratic ticket," says veteran political consultant George Christian, who was Lyndon Johnson's press secretary. "He's a heavy load to tote. Rightly or wrongly, he is getting blamed for almost everything that goes wrong."

The state's dynamic new Republican chairman, Tom Pauken, a former Reagan Administration official, points to "a conservative populist mood very reminiscent of what we saw in the late Seventies." Though Pauken isn't willing to guess whether it will translate into anger at state government.

As for Mrs. Richards, says Christian, "Her personality keeps her in the race. . . . It's hard not to like Ann. She's basically a charming person."

Well. There's charm, and then there's charm. Politically speaking, Ann's is skin deep. Education reform, à la Mrs. Richards, means forcing local school districts to pay higher property taxes, then redistributing the proceeds. State spending, under Governor Ann, has risen $17 billion—the third largest increase among Western states. With the Cato Institute she scores "D" as a financial manager. Cato's report labels her possibly "the most over-rated governor in America."

And Bush? Youthful, earnest, and conservative enough for the great majority of Texans: such is the man the governor, tired perhaps of charming the human race on cue, referred to as "some jerk."

The remark had its ironic side. Mrs. Richards owed her narrow, 97,000-vote victory margin four years ago to the female indignation that Republican nominee Clayton Williams stirred up with remarks widely considered as demeaning to women. No such missteps for Bush, who has been polite almost to a fault, professing to like his opponent, refusing to criticize her personally, though her bad temper and aimless leadership style would seem to invite strenuous criticism. Bush has kept his eye on the issues—schools, welfare, and crime—and has landed some telling blows.

Everyone seems to have noticed the absence this year of Mrs. Richards's political *joie de vivre*. No one else on the Democratic ticket can be accused of purloining it. The Democrats are a lot of sad sacks. Richard Fisher, the self-styled New Democrat, co-founder (as he tells it) of the Democratic Leadership Council, flails away at Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison without so far making the least impression on the voters. In a recent poll, Mrs. Hutchison led her assailant by 26 points.

Fisher may well close the gap some as more yellow-dog Democrats limp up to the polls and cast mournful eyes at the choices before them, but Mrs. Hutchison, it can be predicted, will

Mr. Murchison is a columnist for the Dallas Morning News.

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leave her rival looking like a squashed armadillo. In fact, her drawing power—based on her sex, moderate conservatism, and an image as a fighter—could under the right circumstances bring Bush victory against an opponent infinitely more formidable than Fisher.

There is a lot of potential support from which to draw. "Growth in GOP-leaning suburbs could spell doom for Democrats," the *Austin American-Statesman* headlined in August. Seems the areas experiencing the fastest population growth in Texas are the suburbs around Houston, Austin, and Dallas. All produce reliable Republican majorities, which are expected to fatten in 1994. The counties that went for Richards four years ago aren't growing as fast. (A sign of what happens to those who vote for big government?)

Meanwhile, Democrats are fretting over the likelihood of a low turnout. Whereas overall turnout for the primaries was 19 per cent, it was only 12.1 per cent in Texas, third lowest in the country. Election officials are predicting that only half of eligible voters will show up on election day.

Not all Democrats running statewide are by any means sunk. Most of them, in fact, are likely to be re-elected. Yet Republicans may win a few. Austin banker David Hartman could knock off the incompetent state treasurer, a Richards pal named Martha Whitehead. Carole Rylander, a frequent if so far unsuccessful Republican candidate, is a reasonable bet for the oil-and-gas-regulating Railroad Commission.

If the GOP picks up a few congressional seats—a very strong prospect—it won't necessarily be a white male thing. Among the strongest GOP contenders are minority-group members and women: Bobby Ortiz for El Paso Democrat Ron Coleman's seat and Jo Baylor, who is black, for the Austin seat being vacated by Jake Pickle (and held previously by Lyndon B. Johnson). The cantankerous Jack Brooks of Beaumont has a real contest with young Steve Stockman. Ed Harrison could knock off Dallas liberal Democrat Martin Frost.

And the formerly fearsome "Religious Right," which last summer we heard (mostly in the Eastern press) was clamping its iron grip on Texas? All's quiet on that particular front. The RR's allegedly formidable legions seem to have burrowed in and are playing politics the old-fashioned way—with hard work. Of course there could be some earnest prayer and supplication going on as well. If so, it seems to be paying off. □

There They Go Again

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

"NO ONE would want us to go back to the days when the deficit was exploding and our economy was going downhill," President Bill Clinton recently told a sparsely attended rally in Detroit. This was Clinton's rebuttal to House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich's Contract with America, which includes Reagan-style across-the-board tax cuts, a balanced budget amendment, term limits, congressional reforms, and some defense spending. Laura Tyson, chairwoman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, has labeled Gingrich's package "Voodoo Two," while White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta reminds us that during the Eighties the rich got richer and the country verged on bankruptcy.

Roman Genn

It is now up to the GOP to set the record straight, doing what George Bush failed to do in 1992: defend the longest peacetime expansion in history and the economic policies that propelled it. Indeed, the GOP must distinguish between Reaganism, which liberated entrepreneurship by lowering tax, regulatory, and inflation burdens, and Bushism, which suppressed growth by raising taxes, re-regulating business, and extinguishing consumer, real-estate, and business credit. If the Republican Party is to maintain its momentum going into the mid-term elections and pave the way to victory in 1996, it must not be afraid to attack Clinton's tax hikes, his regulatory mandates, and his zealous effort to nationalize health care as part of the same big-government agenda that George Bush supported.

Viewed in this light, the GOP task should be easy. The Bush–Clinton economic recovery cycle is vastly inferior to the economy's performance under Reagan. At a comparable stage, roughly three-and-a-half years from the recession trough, the current jobs expansion of 5.8 million looks anemic compared to Reagan's 10.4 million. Non-farm payrolls in this cycle have increased at an annual rate of 1.5 per cent, compared to 3.2 per cent under Reagan. Overall real GDP growth in the current recovery cycle is 2.9 per cent a year, compared with Reagan's 4.9 per cent.

Or take real disposable income, which measures take-home pay after taxes, adjusted for inflation. Most economists regard this as the best index of overall living standards. In the Reagan recovery it expanded at a 3.8 per cent annual rate during the first 13 recovery quarters, while it advanced at a 2.4 per cent yearly rate during the Bush–Clinton cycle. The picture is similar if you look at total workers' compensation, which includes both wages and benefits. Adjusted for inflation, this increased at a 1.6 per cent annual rate during the early Reagan recovery and by just 0.7 per cent yearly during the Bush–Clinton cycle.

Reagan's personal income, business, and capital-gains tax cuts created a tremendous 7.6 per cent annual growth in net new business formations, compared to the Bush–Clinton record of 4.3 per cent. Also on the entrepreneurial front, household net worth (all assets less all liabilities), adjusted for inflation, increased by 3.2 per cent annually during the early Reagan recovery, compared to a

Mr. Kudlow is NR*'s economics editor.*

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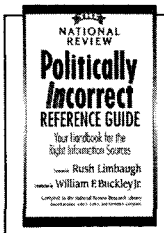

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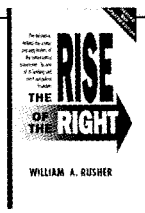

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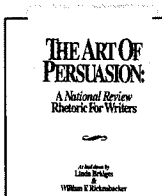

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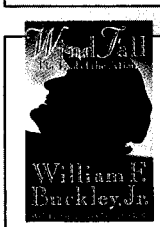

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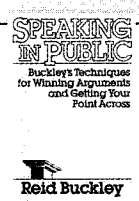

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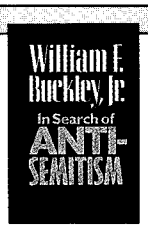

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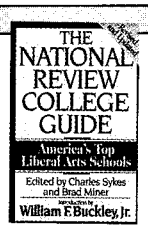
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Bush–Clinton rate of 1.9 per cent. This figure, which includes stocks, bonds, real estate, and tangible assets, minus borrowing and other liabilities, is the best measure of saving. People save to invest, they invest to grow wealthier, and wealth comes from the market's valuation of homes, businesses, and financial securities.

The general public senses that the 1990s recovery is underperforming the 1980s cycle. In a recent survey conducted by Republican pollster Ed Goeas and Democratic pollster Celinda Lake, 38 per cent of the respondents said the economy is stagnating, while another 20 per cent said the country is still in recession. For the fourth year of recovery, this is a remarkable finding. What's more, a recent Times–Mirror survey asked people to compare Clinton and his five predecessors in terms of their importance and job performance. Clinton ranked ahead of only Gerald Ford, and on both questions Reagan placed first, the choice of roughly three times as many people as picked Clinton. So when will national Republican leaders start defending their most popular and highly regarded former President?

Even on fiscal issues, Reagan's record holds up well. In all the talk of huge deficits and growth in the federal debt, few people recognize that the sharp decline of inflation, surely a positive development, caused the deficit to rise by roughly $100 billion per year in the early and mid Eighties from estimates based on the inflated revenue projections made at the beginning of the decade. But high inflation caused the economy to shrink, while low inflation promoted productive investment, job creation, and sharply lower interest rates.

Meanwhile, after the 25 per cent across-the-board drop in income-tax rates, revenues *increased* by $100 billion, or 33 per cent, between 1982 and 1987. Corporate tax revenues jumped by $34 billion, or 68 per cent. The share of taxes paid by the top 1 per cent of income earners rose from 18 per cent to 24 per cent, the top 2 per cent's share increased from 20 per cent to 34 per cent, and the middle class's share fell from 67 per cent to 60 per cent. And while Mr. Clinton boasts of a declining deficit, which is expected to average about $185 billion in 1994-95, it should be remembered that Mr. Reagan's last three deficits (1987-89) averaged $150 billion. Furthermore, in 1989 the Congressional Budget Office predicted that the deficit would decline to $122 billion by 1994. Now the latest CBO estimates show much higher future deficits, rising to $251 billion in 2000 and $359 billion in 2003.

The CBO has not yet taken into account the effects of rising interest rates. Recall that Clinton promised lower interest rates last year as Congress passed his high-tax budget deal by razor-thin majorities. Instead, interest rates have risen by roughly two percentage points over the past year and appear to be headed still higher. When the CBO gets around to it, the out-year deficit totals will be revised upward by $60 billion to $70 billion. Which means that, after two huge tax hikes (1990 and 1993), Federal debt held by the public will be projected to rise by $2.5 trillion between 1990 and 2000. By comparison, the debt rose $1.4 trillion between 1981 and 1989.

Though the 1990s sequel looks to be worse, the deficit and debt story will forever be the Achilles heel of Reaganomics. Still, Reagan extinguished inflation, re-ignited economic growth, and ended the Cold War, all historic achievements. The cost of these achievements was an upturn in the ratio of Federal debt to GDP, which moved from 26.5 per cent in 1981 to 42.3 per cent in 1989, putting it roughly where it was under President John F. Kennedy.

Big deal. There has never been a clear link between this ratio and economic growth. The ratio dropped to 25 per cent during the stagflationary Seventies, and it was over 100 per cent in the boom years after World War II. Given Reagan's success in restoring growth, slaying inflation, and ending the Cold War, the debt story amounts to nothing more than liberal ankle biting. Meanwhile, under the Bush–Clinton regime, with a Democratic House and Senate, higher taxes and re-regulation have blunted economic incentives, slowed our long-run growth potential, and produced an anxiety-ridden, sub-par recovery. If Democrats continue to attack the Gingrich Contract as "Reaganomics," the GOP should take it as high praise. □

The Right Medicine

PAUL KENGOR

Roberto Parada

PITTSBURGH

"THE PEOPLE of Pennsylvania have given me a mandate," declared Harris Wofford upon winning the 1991 U.S. Senate race in Pennsylvania. The election, he believed, "sent a message all the way to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue" and served as "a wake-up call to the President."

Those words may well be used against Senator Wofford at the end of the 1994 race. His Republican challenger, Rick Santorum, is gaining popularity through a campaign focused on smart health-care reform, welfare reform, and Wofford's closeness to President Clinton.

The results of the 1991 race shocked Republicans. Wofford's opponent, Dick Thornburgh, a former two-term governor of Pennsylvania and an attorney general in the Bush Administration, started with a 40-point lead in the polls. The Democratic candidate was so unknown that the main post-election story in the *Pittsburgh Press* included a guide to pronouncing his name. Wofford, who had been filling the Senate seat vacated by the death of Republican Senator John Heinz, was boosted by the highest voter turnout in 24 years. He won 55 to 45 per cent.

Mr. Kengor is a Pittsburgh-based writer.

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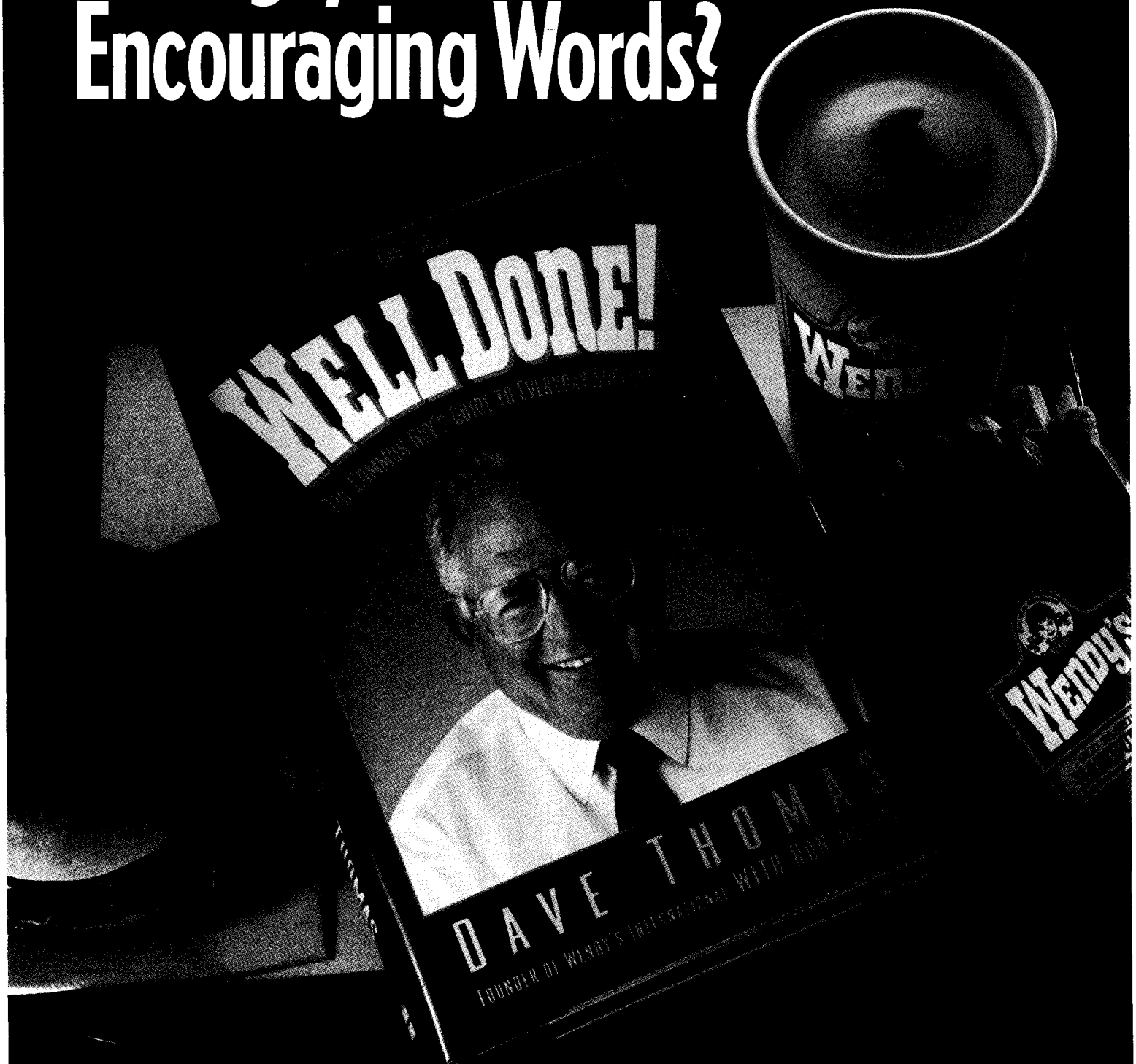
Hungry For Some Encouraging Words?



A little good news is a great change of pace these days. Now America's favorite chef is serving up enough inspiration, affirmation and common sense to satisfy even the strongest appetite.

Well Done!, by Wendy's International founder Dave Thomas, offers more than a few encouraging words in praise of the "everyday" heroes and heroines whose principles and practices make a positive difference in our world.

Get your copy of *Well Done!* "to go" at your favorite bookstore. It's a deliciously satisfying specialty of the house from a guy famous for serving up real values. Also available on audio cassette.

Zondervan

(Dave Thomas is donating all proceeds from the sale of *Well Done!* to the Dave Thomas Foundation for Adoption).

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In part, Thornburgh doomed himself. His campaign lacked a grass-roots touch. But Pennsylvania voters were tired of Bush and the recession, and turned off by Thornburgh's connections to Washington. A vote against Thornburgh was a vote against Bush. Furthermore, Wofford struck a chord with health-care reform.

"It is obvious . . . that this election involved more than just a Senate campaign between Dick Thornburgh and Harris Wofford," said Thornburgh. "There's a message here for the Administration," said Bush, to "try to help people with health care." Even before the polls had closed, Bush presciently told reporters that Thornburgh was a victim of a campaign that tried to "blame him for problems for which he had no control. Maybe that's a harbinger of things to come." Wofford called it a victory for the cause of national health insurance. Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell agreed: "I believe Harris Wofford's victory creates a tremendous momentum forward toward enactment of meaningful health-care reform in Congress."

But now the pendulum has swung against the kind of health-care reform prescribed by Clinton and Wofford. And Rick Santorum, a two-term congressman from Pittsburgh, is capitalizing on that shift. Wofford, a conventional liberal and former president of Bryn Mawr College, co-sponsored Clinton's Health Security Act. The Santorum campaign has labeled him "a poster child for the Clinton Administration." The non-partisan *Rothenberg Political Report* calls him "the most endangered incumbent" senator this year.

Santorum, a 36-year-old conservative, offers a clear alternative to Wofford-style health-care reform. His proposal focuses on what he calls the "chronic uninsured." It includes insurance reform, vouchers, and medical savings accounts, and it aims to reduce costs through malpractice reform, voluntary purchasing pools, and administrative changes. The National Taxpayers Union Foundation rated Santorum's bill, co-sponsored by Senator Phil Gramm (R., Tex.), the most freedom-friendly of the nine health plans considered by Congress in the last session. The Clinton bill employed words like "ban," "criminal," "enforce," "fine," "limit," "obligation," "penalty," "prison," "prohibit," "require," "restrict," "sanction," and "violate" nearly 1,500 times, while Santorum–Gramm had only 86 such references. The foundation projected that the Santorum–Gramm bill would cut $26 billion in federal spending, as opposed to the $608 billion added by the Clinton bill. It also predicted that the Clinton plan would lead to price controls.

As in 1991, Wofford has tried to take advantage of the health-care issue, but with little success. In July he participated in a Clinton health-care rally in Greensburg, Pennsylvania, that featured a local dairy farmer who said she couldn't afford health insurance. A few weeks later the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* ran a front-page story reporting that a local insurance cooperative, upon hearing of the woman's plight, called her and immediately enrolled her in a plan. "One of my sales people said, 'That is crazy that she's not insured,'" a representative of the cooperative told the paper. "'She's a farmer, she's self-employed, we can insure her.' So he sat down with her. Why didn't the White House or Wofford really help out?" Local talk shows blasted Wofford and Clinton for using the woman as a stage prop rather than trying to assist her.

The health-care issue is critical to Pennsylvania, particularly Pittsburgh, where a once-booming manufacturing base has been supplanted by a thriving health-care industry. The Bureau of Research and Statistics at Pennsylvania's Department of Labor and Industry identifies health services as "the single biggest engine driving the economy of Southwestern Pennsylvania." But the bureau foresees a "slow-down in the short-term" due to the impact of health-care reform. That's where the concern lies.

Lately, the local health-care industry has been in decline. In the last year, hospital layoffs have claimed more than 1,000 jobs in the Pittsburgh region. The vice president of nursing at Pittsburgh's Allegheny General Hospital says 50 per cent of jobs in acute care could be gone by the year 2000. The University of Pittsburgh Medical Center, which is the largest non-governmental employer in Pittsburgh, with some 11,500 workers, is reducing expenditures by 25 per cent (mostly through layoffs) in anticipation of changes in the health-care system.

Pittsburgh is important to Santorum. In losing the 1991 race by 10 percentage points, Thornburgh actually won the majority of counties (40 of 67). But he lost big in the two largest, Philadelphia and his home county of Allegheny, which includes Pittsburgh. When he narrowly won the 1982 governor's race with 51.5 percent of the vote, Thornburgh also carried a majority of counties (45 of 67), but he won Allegheny. Santorum seems to be strong in Allegheny County. He was re-elected in 1992 with 61 per cent of the vote in a district where 71 per cent of registered voters are Democrats.

Perhaps even more than in 1991, this year's Senate race is shaping up as a referendum on the sitting president and health-care reform, the issue each candidate is most closely associated with. "The first presidential election is not going to be in New Hampshire or Iowa," said Pennsylvania Governor Robert P. Casey, a Democrat, in a 1991 post-election analysis of the Senate race. "We had it last night here. Without any question, if the National Democratic Party wants to take a lesson on how to defeat George Bush . . . they should come to Pennsylvania. The result last night is, I think, a stunning rebuke." Rick Santorum may be saying the same thing about President Clinton in November. □

Lucky Stiff

ADAM TANNER

MOSCOW

HIS empire has collapsed, and few in Russia still honor his ideology. Yet the father of Soviet Communism is still waited on hand and foot by a team of embalmers who keep Lenin looking just as he did when he died 70 years ago.

Twice weekly, a group of elderly scientists visits Lenin's tomb off Moscow's Red Square to inspect his body. His glass coffin is opened, and his custodians dab embalming fluid onto his face and hands, the only visible parts of his

Mr. Tanner is a writer in New York City.

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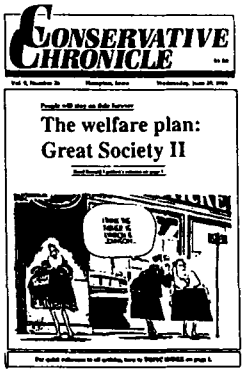

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body (the rest is covered by a suit, with a blanket over the legs).

Once every 18 months, the now 124-year-old Lenin spends about 60 days immersed in a glass tub of chemicals inside his red marble mausoleum residence. With watchful soldiers never far off, the scientists oversee the bath, in which the clear chemical solution penetrates the skin, assuring that, as in a living person, Lenin's body remains about 70 per cent liquid. Lenin's minders then hoist the body out of the tub onto a hospital stretcher and lay it out to rest for a few hours while the excess liquids drip off. When the body is dry, the scientists bind Lenin with rubber bandages to prevent leakage and put his clothes back on.

Just a few years ago, this procedure and the chemical solutions used in it—a mixture consisting mostly of glycerol and potassium acetate—were considered a top secret of the Kremlin. The 120 million visitors who had entered the mausoleum since 1924 could only guess whether the body was real or a wax doll, and if it was real, how it was maintained.

Ilya Zbarsky knows, and after decades of secrecy he has broken the embalmer's code of silence with the most extensive description of the procedure ever made public. Zbarsky's father helped perfect the Lenin embalming technique in 1924, and he inherited the task as Lenin's keeper from 1934 to 1952. Now 80, Zbarsky speaks openly and with humor about the Lenin secrets.

"There have been a lot of articles in the press saying that a hand was cut off or that just the head and the hands remain," says Zbarsky, who shared his unpublished memoirs for the preparation of this article. "They absolutely do not correspond to the truth; the body is whole and is preserved to this day." Lenin's current minders, many of whom are Zbarsky's contemporaries, corroborate his description of the embalming procedure.

Zbarsky vividly recalls his embalming days and acknowledges that such work was "an unpleasantness." "We did our work and we quickly got used to it," he says. "For anyone who just arrived, of course, it would appear rather strange."

Not only strange, but dangerous. During the Stalinist days when Zbarsky did the embalming, even the smallest flaw on Lenin's body could earn one a trip to Siberia or worse. Every blemish and bacteria growth that might appear brought terror to the hearts of the embalmers, who would frantically scrub the imperfection off of Communism's central deity. "We were greatly afraid that something would happen to the body," Zbarsky says. "If you made a mistake, you could have been shot during Stalin's time."

Perhaps Zbarsky's most dangerous mission came during World War II, when he led the evacuation of the body to the Ural Mountains, lest the advancing German troops capture the sacred idol. He set up a new laboratory and kept the body looking fresh through the duration of the war.

Roman Genn

Despite his loyal service to the state, Zbarsky eventually did end up suffering under Stalin, losing his job when his father was arrested in 1952. After that, he worked in a different biological lab on new research. Yet he kept his secret.

ACCORDING to Zbarsky, his father and the other early embalmers developed the two-month bath immersion technique because Lenin's veins were cut in an autopsy immediately after his death in 1924. That meant that a standard embalming by injecting formaldehyde into his body through the veins could last for only a few weeks at best, not until the end of the Soviet state.

"At first they performed regular embalming on the body, but changes started to occur within a month or month and a half," Zbarsky says. "Then the Politburo made the decision to preserve the body for a long time, and several months of scientific work were done." When Russians continued to line up in sub-zero weather for days to see Lenin after his death in January 1924, the Kremlin decided to preserve the body for good, and thus was born the tub immersion technique, a process generally used today only for infants without a developed vein system.

In recent years, the Russian government of Boris Yeltsin has twice decided to bury Lenin once and for all and end what many consider a grotesque experiment. The first near-burial came after the 1991 August coup, the second after the October 1993 destruction of the Soviet-era parliament. Yet each time Yeltsin hesitated, and his opportunity faded.

Since the December 1993 elections, which brought a sizable pro-Communist and hard-line nationalist opposition to parliament, Yeltsin has been unwilling to spend the political capital it would take to bury Lenin in his likely final resting spot, next to his mother's grave in St. Petersburg. And in recent months, few have clamored for the burial. When one political activist picketed near Red Square last spring calling for the sale of Lenin's body abroad, she was quickly detained by police.

Even though it continues to oversee Lenin's body, the Institute of Biological Sciences in Moscow has become an empty shell of its former glory. It was once a heavily guarded institute monitored by the KGB, but today a journalist can easily slip by the door, only to find most of the laboratories closed or in disrepair.

Boris Khomatov, the scientist who oversees Lenin's embalming today, says one of his colleagues recently traveled to North Korea to discuss the embalming of Kim Il Sung. Reports on whether the North Koreans are undertaking the task have been contradictory. But nowadays the secrets of Lenin's body are not limited to Communist icons. Officials at the Institute of Biological Sciences say they are hoping to market their technique to rich Americans and other foreigners who want to embalm their relatives.

Zbarsky, for his part, feels that the era of embalming should come to an end; he says Lenin no longer deserves a place in the mausoleum on Red Square. "I put a lot of energy and time into this in my life," he says, "but as a citizen, I say it's time to bury him." □

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Want to Know the *Full Story* about Whitewater?

BOOK REVIEW / Jerry Seper

Whitewater primer from a pro

Martin L. Gross, author of the 1992 best seller "The Government Racket: Washington Waste from A to Z," has put together a new government primer — this time trying to categorize and explain the so-called Whitewater affair.

"The Great Whitewater Fiasco" is admirable not only for its content and obvious research, but also for its history and candid conclusions. It should be required reading for anyone trying to understand this complex, confusing and contradictory growing national scandal.

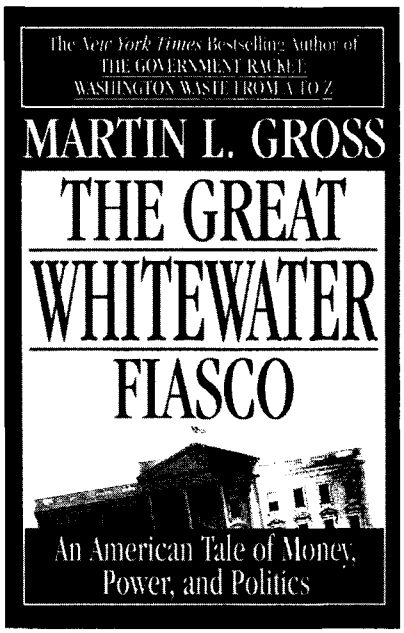
Overlook Mr. Gross' sometimes distracting sermons on government ethics, his lengthy recollections of his prior book and his glaring failure to credit some of the hard-working and often-maligned reporters who first exposed the nuts and bolts of the Whitewater labyrinth. He does well telling the reader what is important about Whitewater, why it is important and where it may be headed.

The Whitewater affair is the story of Bill and Hillary Clinton's ties to an Arkansas partnership known as Whitewater Development Corp., to Whitewater partner James B. McDougal, owner of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association (which failed in 1989 at a cost to taxpayers of $50 million), and the Bank of Kingston, Ark., which was involved in several dubious loans involving Mr. McDougal and the Clintons.

The thrift and the bank figure prominently in an ongoing investigation by Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr, who is probing, among other things, whether Madison funds were illegally diverted in the mid-1980s to prominent Arkansas politicians, including the Clintons, and whether Madison funds were diverted to Whitewater or to help retire Mr. Clinton's 1984 gubernatorial campaign debt.

Mr. Gross spent considerable time and effort researching available Whitewater records in both Washington and Little Rock, and in talking with several of the principals — those willing to talk, that is. He concludes that Whitewater is not an isolated case, but an example of "how the traditional use of public and private money in American politics distorts democracy — locally, statewide and nationally — in both parties."

His book documents how the Clintons' 20 years of public life in Arkansas were dominated by continuous conflicts of interest, and it asks hard questions about whether the White House did — and continues to — cover up the truth about Whitewater. It reviews what Mr. Gross describes as the "laxity of internal oversight groups," such as the Inspector General's Office and the Office of Government Ethics.



The book also suggests that:

•Contrary to claims that they lost money on the Whitewater venture, the Clintons may have made as much as $80,000 in profits.

•Mrs. Clinton purposely cashed in on her political celebrity through various deals that netted her thousands of dollars.

•The Clintons may owe the federal government more than $100,000 in back taxes for income they failed to report.

•Mr. Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, raised some $350,000 in a political slush fund, which was not reported as campaign contributions to state or federal officials.

Much of Mr. Gross' book focuses on the business deals of Mrs. Clinton, whom he describes as the "wife, right hand, and left hand, aide to and manager of Bill Clinton." The cast of characters, however, is long. Mr. Gross examines the activities of 70 individuals who are tied in one way or another to the Whitewater drama.

A good portion of the book is devoted to Mr. Clinton's rise to power and Mrs. Clinton's continuing and changing role as his leading adviser and the couple's major breadwinner, including her phenomenal successes in the commodities market. The history lesson is interesting and important to any real understanding of the significance of the Whitewater affair.

But, as Mr. Gross notes, the saga of Whitewater is far from over.

"It holds lessons for us all," he writes. "Some are technical, others quite simple, and all are vital if we're to avoid the collapse of our political system through loss of faith in public officials. Government is a sacred trust, not an opportunity for politicians and bureaucrats to glorify and enrich themselves."

Jerry Seper is a reporter for the national desk of The Washington Times.

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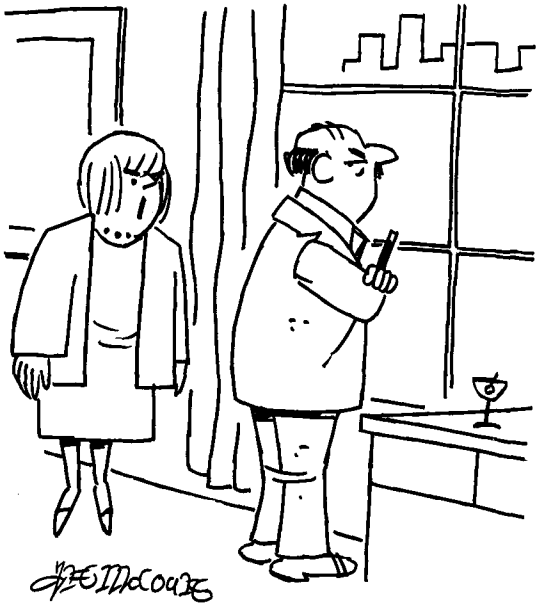
help

Cuomo's Last Stand

Like Dracula, who always fled
When garlic bulbs adorned a bed,
Or crucifixes dangled from
A neck that made him murmur, "Yum,"
The Governor turned toothpaste-white
While covering his overbite
When George Pataki waved a stake
And talked about a tax-rate break.

W. H. VON DREELE



"There you go again . . . quoting our marriage vows out of context!"

"I'd like your figures better if they weren't written on a bar napkin."

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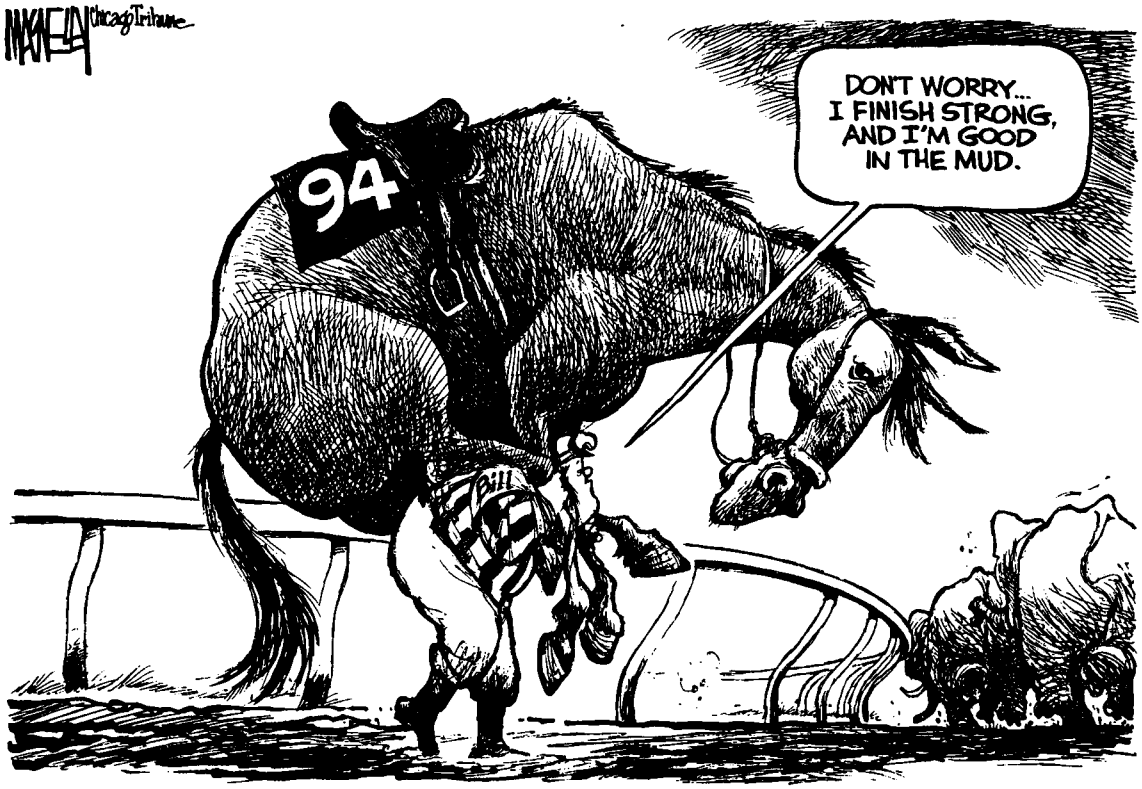

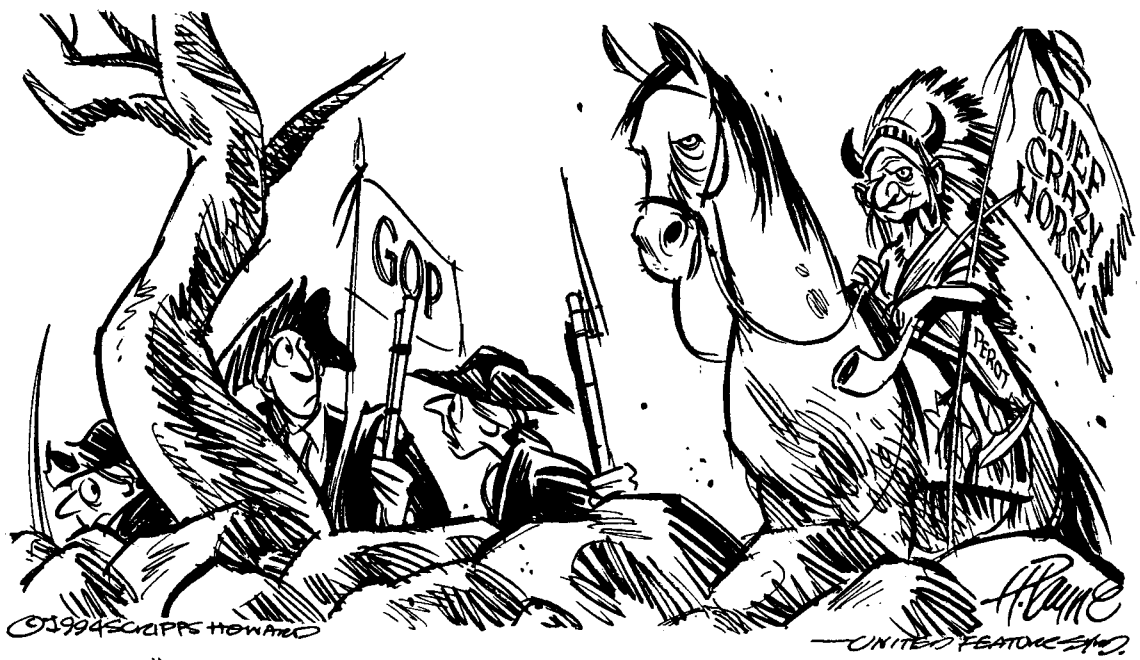

"HE SAYS HE AND HIS PEOPLE WANT TO HELP US DEFEAT THE DEMOCRATS... I THINK IT'S A TRICK."

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RANDOM WALK

IN THE spring of 1992 one U.S. dollar fetched five Russian rubles in front of the old Metropole Hotel, only a few blocks away from Red Square in Moscow. Today, the value of the ruble has plummeted to 3,000 per dollar. This is bad money and inflation on a grand scale. And it spells big political trouble for Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

One analyst who predicted this development is Judy Shelton, senior research fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution and co-author of *The Coming Soviet Crash*, first published in 1989. Mrs. Shelton tells me that "no one should be shocked that the bills are coming due." The pension system and the old Soviet state-run industries (defense, farming, manufacturing) fell deeper into debt and turned to the central bank for support. After stalling during the spring and early summer, perhaps to lower inflation temporarily in time for Yeltsin's summit with President Clinton, central-bank head Victor Gerashchenko restarted the ruble printing presses to bail out the old Soviet state system. Hence the ruble collapse.

Yeltsin successfully pushed Gerashchenko to resign. But Mrs. Shelton thinks the Russian president doth protest too much. Her sources report that Yeltsin had been calling Gerashchenko in the dead of night *ordering* him to print new rubles. Compounding this mistake, on October 1 a new edict made it illegal for Russian businesses and employees to accept or transact business in dollars or other hard Western currencies. This effectively makes criminals out of all Russians who are operating in the new entrepreneurial markets that are springing up throughout Russia.

Mrs. Shelton believes Russia should bury the ruble and follow the example of Estonia, which created a new currency 100 per cent backed by gold and hard-money foreign-exchange reserves. "But it's too logical to formally link the ruble to the dollar," she says. "Therefore it probably won't happen."

Meanwhile, all Moscow is gossiping that Yeltsin was too drunk to get off the plane in Ireland to attend a reception with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds, and the Russian parliament is debating a vote of no confidence. Standing in the wings ready to replace Yeltsin is Gennady Zyuganov, a former head of the Communist Party. The U.S. State Department, trying to prop up its own sinking President, is in denial about all this and refuses specific comment. But U.S. investors should beware: Bad money leads to bad economics, which can lead to ugly politics.

■ Recent inflation reports for September show a surprisingly good picture, with producer prices falling by 0.5 per cent and consumer prices rising by only 0.2 per cent. But core wholesale prices at the intermediate level rose at a 6 per cent annual rate in the third quarter, while prices of crude materials increased at a rate of 15.1 per cent. These numbers suggest that producer-price-inflation pressures are building. Furthermore, the consumer-price index is showing a clear upward trend, rising at a 3.2 per cent annual rate over the past eight months, compared to only a 2.1 per cent annual rate during the prior eight-month period.

"I don't know, doc, I may have lost it in the stock market."

California economist Victor Canto believes September's favorable inflation reports will prove to be temporary. He cites four indicators: 1) gold at $390 is too high, 2) commodity trends have been strong, 3) the dollar remains weak, and 4) monetary-base growth significantly exceeds M1's rate of rise, signaling that the high-powered money supply is greater than the private economy's demand for money.

Canto expects a slowing economy will be accompanied by faster inflation, contrary to the Wall Street consensus that rapid growth pushes inflation higher. So financial markets are in for a surprise. Canto and his partner Arthur Laffer predict inflation will rise to at least 4 per cent, and long-term Treasury bonds are headed for 9 per cent. Stock-market investors, beware.

■ I recently heard a World Bank bureaucrat declare that every nation should be running a trade surplus. The fellow seemed a bit deflated when I noted that such an achievement is mathematically impossible. Every nation can be in surplus only if we start trading with the moon and Mars.

But it turns out I was wrong. I assumed, incorrectly, that the world's trade numbers must add up. "If you add up all the trade deficits and all the trade surpluses of countries around the world," says Honolulu financial advisor Bert Dohmen, "the world would have a trade deficit of $50 to $100 billion a year with itself."

There is plenty of evidence that trade numbers are screwy. Trade specialist Ed Hudgins of the Cato Institute tells me that a few years ago the Commerce Department said U.S. exports to Canada were $40 billion. A few months later Commerce quietly upped the estimate to $50 billion, a *20 per cent* revision. Because the world has become so integrated through international trade in the last decade, Hudgins notes, determining the domestic value-added content of, say, a General Motors car—which may contain parts from China, Mexico, Korea, and elsewhere—has become an accounting crap shoot. "The government's trade numbers," he insists, "are completely meaningless." —GEKKO

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Can Social Security Be Saved?

CRASH COURSE

Social Security is collapsing faster than you think. But neither Congress nor the Clinton Administration is inclined to deal with the looming crisis.

JOHN ATTARIAN

POLITICIANS of both parties are finally fretting about the danger from soaring entitlement spending. Yet Congress and the Clinton Administration show no willingness to face, let alone act to avert, the coming ruin of the biggest entitlement of all. Without radical reform, Social Security threatens to cause a general fiscal crisis.

Such a warning may seem odd, given the fact that the program has run surpluses every year since the 1983 Social Security tax increases, accumulating large "trust funds" that can be tapped to pay future retirement benefits. As mandated by law, these surpluses are invested in interest-bearing U.S. government debt. As of fiscal 1993, the Old Age and Sickness Insurance (OASI) trust fund had assets of $355.6 billion, and the Disability Insurance (DI) trust fund had $10.3 billion. Hospitalization Insurance (HI), or Medicare A, had a trust-fund balance of $126.1 billion. It would seem that candidate Bill Clinton was right in 1992 when he said of Social Security, "It's solid. It's secure. It's sound."

Yet it's none of these. Social Security can meet today's obligations, but the program is doomed thanks to demographics. When the huge Baby Boom generation was born, fertility rates (number of births per woman) were unusually high. They have fallen steadily since. Thus, when the Baby Boomers begin retiring in about 2010, the beneficiary population will start growing faster than the number of workers paying Social Security taxes. Under conditions that Social Security's Board of Trustees deems most probable, the beneficiary population will increase from 42.7 million in 1994 to 80.3 million in 2030 (up 88.1 per cent), while the worker population will go from 137.2 million to 162.8 million (18.7 per cent). Under more-pessimistic assumptions, beneficiaries will double, from 42.7 million to 85.2 million, while taxpaying workers will rise from 136.9 million to 151.2 million (10.4 per cent).

Put another way, 3.2 workers now support each beneficiary (down from 5.1 in 1960 and 4 in 1965). By 2030, the ratio will be only 2 to 1. Medicare is in the same pickle. The Hospital Insurance worker-beneficiary ratio, now 4 to 1, will be only 2 to 1 by 2050. Social Security and Medicare costs will therefore begin exceeding revenues, and the trust funds will have to be drained to make up the difference. When the trust funds are exhausted, Social Security will be bankrupt.

Moreover, this crisis is approaching faster than most people realize. The annual report of Social Security's Board of Trustees presents an actuarial analysis of the trust funds' performance during the next 75 years under "optimistic," "intermediate" ("most likely"), and "pessimistic" economic and demographic assumptions. The report includes the projected dates by which the trust funds will be exhausted based on those assumptions. Examination of the projected exhaustion dates from the 1990–1994 reports is grimly revealing (see Table 1).

As we go forward in time, *the projected trust-fund exhaustion dates are creeping back toward us.* In 1990, exhaustion of the OASDI (combined OASI and DI) fund under pessimistic assumptions was 33 years away (2023); under intermediate assumptions, it was 53 years off (2043). But OASDI is now projected under pessimistic assumptions to go broke in only twenty years (2014), and under intermediate assumptions in just 35 years (2029)—a grave deterioration in Social Security's outlook in just four years.

This substantial "creepback" in trust-fund exhaustion dates indicates that Social Security's future is worsening rapidly and that we are running out of time to cope with it. If the creepback continues, the Social Security crisis might hit some time in the next decade. As for Medicare, under all sets of assumptions (no matter how they slice it, in other words), the trustees conclude that "the trust fund is projected to become exhausted even before the major demographic shift begins to occur."

Another indicator of Social Security's growing weakness is the appalling rise in its actuarial deficit, the amount by which future outlays exceed revenue and the value of the trust funds during the next 75 years. In

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1990 the combined deficit was projected to be $5.8 trillion under intermediate assumptions. That figure rose to $10.2 trillion in 1993 and $10.4 trillion this year. Significantly, about half the deterioration in Social Security's actuarial position in the last three years has been due to improvements in methods of projecting costs and income. That is, the more accurate a view of its future the actuaries achieve, the worse that future looks.

A. Haeworth Robertson, Social Security's chief actuary from 1975 to 1978, warned us about these actuarial deficits in 1992. "Only the foolhardy would continue to ignore the longer range financial problems projected for the Social Security program," he wrote in *Social Security: What Every Taxpayer Should Know*, published by the Retirement Policy Institute. "It is not a question of whether future costs will be higher; it is a question of whether they will be so much higher as to be unaffordable. It is a question of whether we are making promises we will not be able to keep."

The Case for Pessimism

ALTHOUGH discussion of Social Security typically uses the intermediate assumptions, there are compelling grounds for using the pessimistic ones instead. Robertson has argued convincingly that the pessimistic assumptions for productivity, fertility, and mortality rates—the variables that "have the greatest impact on long-range projections of future income and outgo"—are more realistic.

Social Security's long-run cost as a share of payroll varies inversely with the fertility rate; the more workers supporting retirees, the lighter each worker's burden and the sounder the program. Surveying the long decline in fertility rates here and throughout the developed world, and their current very low levels (1.6 in Western Europe, 1.8 in Northern Europe, and 1.9 in the U.S. in 1988), Robertson concluded that the 1990 report's intermediate assumption of 1.9 (the same as in the 1994 report) seemed optimistic and that the pessimistic assumption of a future fertility rate of 1.6 births per woman (used in both 1990 and 1994) "is probably quite appropriate to use as an intermediate assumption, and it could even be optimistic."

Brisk productivity growth increases Social Security's tax base faster than outlays by causing wage increases to outstrip benefit cost-of-living adjustments. By the same token, stagnant productivity impairs Social Security's ability to pay its way. The 1990 report assumed future long-term average annual productivity increases of 2.2 per cent (optimistic), 1.7 per cent ("most likely"), and 1.4 per cent (pessimistic). Robertson pointed out that the annual increase for 1968–1988 averaged only about 1.1 per cent; he concluded that the "pessimistic" 1.4 per cent was a suitable intermediate figure, and perhaps even optimistic.

Declining mortality rates mean longer life spans, hence higher Social Security costs. American death rates adjusted for age and sex have fallen steadily with improvements in health care, living standards, diet, and exercise. Death rates fell by an average of 1.2 per cent a year between 1900 and 1991 and by 1.4 per cent a year from 1968 to 1991. Given this trend, the 1994 report's intermediate assumption of a 0.6 per cent average annual decline in the death rate between 1991 and 2068 looks too optimistic, as does even the pessimistic assumption of 1 per cent.

Overall, Robertson argued, the focus on intermediate assumptions imparts an optimistic bias to people's thinking about Social Security. In deciding which set of assumptions to use, the real test is which set most accurately portrays the most likely future and thus best enables Social Security to honor its promises. By that standard, he said, the pessimistic assumptions are "the most appropriate . . . and even they may be somewhat optimistic."

In effect conceding that Robertson is right, the Social Security trustees' 1994 report revised some intermediate assumptions toward pessimism. The fertility rate was reduced slightly for the first 15 years, reflecting lower-than-expected birth rates in 1992. Male mortality rates were trimmed to reflect mortality rates in 1992 and 1993, which were below expectations. (These changes were offset by adjusting the projected future beneficiaries for the influx of illegal aliens, presumably less likely to get benefits than legal residents.) Some economic assumptions were also adjusted, which slightly worsened the actuarial deficit; e.g., labor-force participation rates were lowered to reflect increases in the number of workers expected to receive disability benefits. And the new future productivity growth estimates are 1.7 per cent (optimistic), 1.4

TABLE I: SOCIAL SECURITY'S WORSENING PROSPECTS

Year of Report	Projected Year of Trust Fund Exhaustion OASI	DI	OASDI	HI	Assumptions
1990	*	*	*	2018	Optimistic
	2046	2020	2043	2003	Intermediate
	2027	1998	2023	1999	Pessimistic
1991	*	*	*	2018	Optimistic
	2045	2015	2041	2005	Intermediate
	2026	1995	2019	2001	Pessimistic
1992	*	2060	*	2009	Optimistic
	2042	1997	2036	2002	Intermediate
	2026	1995	2019	2001	Pessimistic
1993	*	1995	*	2000	Optimistic
	2044	1995	2036	1999	Intermediate
	2025	1995	2017	1998	Pessimistic
1994	*	1995	*	2004	Optimistic
	2036	1995	2029	2001	Intermediate
	2023	1995	2014	2000	Pessimistic

*(*Trust fund not projected to be exhausted within report's 75-years projection period.)*
Source: Social Security Administration, Office of the Actuary

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per cent (intermediate), and 1.1 per cent (pessimistic)—vindicating Robertson's position.

Furthermore, only the pessimistic projection is realistic enough to assume recessions during the next ten years: in 1995 (real GNP projected to fall by 0.5 per cent) and 1998 (real GNP down 1.7 per cent). This squares well with historical experience: recessions in 1975, 1980, 1982, and 1991.

Finally, the creepback of OASDI trust-fund exhaustion dates even under intermediate assumptions—from 2043 in 1990 to 2036 in 1992 and 2029 in 1994—indicates that pessimism is justified.

Busting the Budget

WHEN a Social Security trust fund's revenues can't meet outlays, it cashes in some of its Treasury bonds. The drain of the Disability Insurance fund began in 1992. If the pessimistic assumptions come true, the OASI fund will start redeeming its bonds in 2002. Even under the intermediate assumptions, Medicare's Hospital Insurance trust fund will start running down in 1996. To get the money for the bonds, the Treasury will have to cut other spending, raise taxes, or borrow from the public. Given Congress's record on spending reduction and the public's dislike of tax increases, the last option, meaning higher budget deficits, is the likeliest.

The commonly used deficit figures combine the on-budget deficit and the Social Security surplus. When Social Security's surpluses become deficits, budget deficits widen accordingly. If the Treasury pays off the bonds entirely by new borrowing, the resulting addition to the deficit will be catastrophic: $70 billion just five years from now, rising to $130 billion in 2002 and $180 billion in 2004. Adjusted for the three-month difference between calendar and fiscal years, this yields total deficits of $296 billion in 1999, $443 billion in 2002, and $571 billion in 2004.

These projections assume that after HI goes bankrupt, it will be authorized to borrow from OASDI to keep afloat, which will drain OASDI's fund, and increase the deficits that much more. If this occurs, the merged trust funds are projected to run out in 2015 under intermediate assumptions and in 2005 under pessimistic ones. Precedent amply justifies this assumption: the dwindling OASDI fund borrowed from HI before the 1983 "rescue," and Congress authorized borrowing among the OASI, DI, and HI trust funds through 1987.

Thus, even before the trust funds are exhausted—that is, in 10 to 15 years—Social Security's weakness will create simultaneous fiscal crisis and economic calamity. Financing such mammoth deficits out of domestic credit would inflict credit starvation on the private sector. Overseas creditors would refuse to keep lending to a government so manifestly incapable of paying its way and honoring its obligations. If Americans spurn severe spending reductions or piratical tax increases (and they have so far), the only option left would be banana-republic finance: debt monetization, risking hyperinflation.

To avoid further woe after the trust funds go broke, Social Security will have to cut benefits deeply, raise taxes substantially, or both. Paying all benefits promised under current law will require huge tax increases to close the gap between revenues and expenditures (see Table 2). One need not be a supply-sider to predict what such taxes will do to incentives, employment, and economic activity. Even rates considerably lower—say, 20 per cent in 2015 and 30 per cent in 2035—would be crippling. And so burdened, an economy could hardly carry the enormous debt from liquidating the trust funds.

In short, if we continue as we are, there will be unshirted hell to pay—sooner rather than later. To avert this, mere tinkering—e.g., higher benefit taxation or increasing the retirement age—simply won't do.

Taxing benefits gave OASDI only a pitiful $6.2 billion in fiscal 1993. Under the 1993 deficit-reduction law, beginning this year, up to 85 per cent of OASDI benefits for single retirees with incomes above $34,000 and for married couples with incomes above $44,000 are taxable. Revenue from taxes on the first 50 per cent of benefits goes to OASDI (the rest is shunted to Medicare). People below those thresholds will continue to have 50 per cent of their benefits taxed. This taxation is projected to raise only $10.8 billion in fiscal 2003. And this level of benefit taxation is already factored into the deficit and payroll-tax projections described above. Even with a huge future retiree population, squeezing this turnip harder is unlikely to extract sufficient blood.

Deficit foe Peter Peterson calls for raising the Social Security retirement age beginning in 1995, to 68 by 2006. This change, he calculates, will save $16 billion in 2000 and $36 billion in 2004. But with the drainage of the trust funds adding $86 billion to the deficit in 2000 and $180 billion in 2004, this measure isn't remotely adequate. And the retirement age can go only so high.

We have made two payroll-tax-based rescues already, in 1977 and 1983. To be adequate to save Social Security, a third such rescue would, as we saw, cripple our economy.

Nor is financing out of general revenue an answer. Payroll taxes and general revenue both ultimately come from individual incomes. General-revenue financing would entail a tax increase of the same magnitude as the payroll-tax hikes. Based on the pessimistic assumptions, liquidating the trust funds' actuarial deficit would require extracting an additional $23.2 trillion from the private sector (assuming no benefit cuts), and this will be devastating, either way.

Means testing sounds attractive, but it's problematic. It would have to be extremely rigorous, denying all or most benefits to perhaps even the lower middle class; otherwise, retiring Baby Boomers could still swamp Social Security by sheer numbers. The more rigorous a means test would be, the more unpopular it would be, and hence the more unlikely to be enacted. Also, as Robertson warned, means testing would encourage concealment of other income. "Such a government-induced change in citizen behavior would be extremely damaging to the character of our nation," he wrote. And it is

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cynical and perfidious to force people to pay all their lives into an unsound system, string them along (as the government does even now) with mendacious assurances that "Social Security will be there when you need it," and then stiff them with a means test.

Radical Reform

THE BEST solution is the most radical: to abandon the idea that "social insurance" is a proper government function and privatize Social Security and Medicare, as policy analysts such as Robert Genetski and Peter Ferrara have proposed. Genetski suggests following Chile's example of letting workers opt out of their social-security program and put at least 10 per cent of retirement income into private investment accounts. Ferrara proposes guaranteeing benefits to today's elderly while giving workers the option of gradually replacing Social Security with "super IRAs" that could be used to purchase life, disability, and retirement health insurance. As he observed in the November 1993 issue of *The Freeman*, "Social Security's financial problems . . . can ultimately be solved only by shifting to a fully funded system of private savings and investment."

It's time to think the unthinkable and do the undoable. The other answers are no answers. And inaction means we will soon have no good options left.

Outrage over radical reform is predictable, but it has no moral or empirical basis. Most "thinking" about Social Security is a tissue of myths such as:

1) *Social Security is a retirement insurance program.* It's a redistribution from taxpayers to beneficiaries; the insurance terminology—"beneficiary," "insurance," "trust fund," "contributions," etc.—is misleading.

2) *You just get back what you paid in.* Your taxes went to previous retirees; in any case, beneficiaries get many times what they paid.

3) *Social Security is a contract between generations.* No such contract exists.

4) *I have an earned right to my benefits; that money belongs to me.* In the 1960 case *Flemming* v. *Nestor*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that paying into Social Security confers no property rights to benefits.

5) *Social Security has a big surplus, so it's sound.* Not so, as we have seen.

6) *We had a surplus, but the politicians stole it.* There never was any money in the "trust funds," only government debt, by design. And my generation (I will be 67 in 2023, when OASI is projected to go broke under pessimistic assumptions) has no moral right to put such crushing burdens on the young coming up behind us.

So far, politicians of both parties have turned blind eyes to this onrushing menace. They have ignored repeated warnings from Social Security's trustees. Beginning in 1985 (*nine years ago*), the trustees' annual reports have voiced concern that the rapid increase in disability beneficiaries could exhaust the Disability Insurance trust fund. The trustees have repeatedly asked Congress to reallocate tax rates between the OASI and DI trust funds to divert money to Disability Insurance. Their 1994 report noted that "it is even more urgent now that such action be taken." Similarly, Medicare's trustees have repeatedly described HI as "severely out of financial balance" and stressed that "prompt, effective, and decisive action is necessary."

Yet our politicians refuse to act. In his 1992 State of the Union address, George Bush said, "I will not tamper with Social Security." He repeatedly exempted the program from proposed entitlement caps. Last year Jack Kemp, the former HUD secretary and aspiring GOP presidential candidate, proposed limiting entitlement growth to beneficiary-population growth plus inflation. But he, too, exempted Social Security. Candidate Clinton promised that "we're not going to fool with Social Security." Characteristically, he fibbed, but his benefit tax hike is, as we saw, more pesky than helpful. Representative John Kasich (R., Ohio), author of the House Republican alternative to Clinton's deficit plan, wrote later that "Social Security was off limits. Republicans believe that Social Security represents a fundamental agreement between the Federal Government and the American people—an agreement that must be preserved. . . . Republicans would achieve their deficit reduction without cutting benefits that American senior citizens have come to consider a sacred trust."

This bi-partisan fatuity perpetuates dangerous myths and fosters a climate of opinion that makes necessary action all but impossible. Our feckless politicians are fiscal Micawbers, assuming that something will turn up. I wouldn't bet my future on it. But unless we start getting the leadership we pay for, we haven't much choice. □

TABLE 2: TAX RATES NEEDED TO PAY SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE BENEFITS AFTER TRUST FUND EXHAUSTION, PESSIMISTIC ASSUMPTIONS
(as percentage of taxable payroll)

Calendar Year	OASDHI Cost Rate (pessimistic)	Minus Benefit Tax Rate	Equals Required Tax Rate
2015	23.64	.53	23.11
2020	27.62	.65	26.97
2025	32.00	.78	31.22
2030	35.99	.88	35.11
2035	38.93	.97	37.96
2040	40.70	1.02	39.68
2045	41.98	1.07	40.91
2050	43.39	1.14	42.25
2055	45.15	1.22	43.93
2060	47.13	1.30	45.83
2065	49.01	1.37	47.64
2070	50.77	1.43	49.34

Source: 1994 OASDI Annual Report

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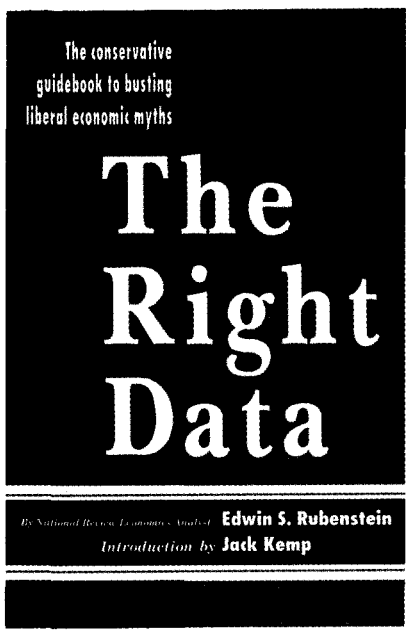
Darkness reigned. For although the deeds of the man known as Reagan had brought labor and plenty for the multitudes, his enemies fell to envy. And the liberal politicians swore oaths and cast aspersions on his deeds, and plotted revenge. And liberal economists sowed lies and deceptions among the multitudes. And the multitudes were confused.

But there came forth light from the pages of the magazine known as *National Review*, beloved by many for its wisdom. And the light which it brought forth blinded the legions of deception, and shone on the truth of the decade known as the Eighties. And bearing witness to the truth was the man known as Edwin S. Rubenstein, the Economics Analyst of *National Review*, who smote the liberal lies in his column "Right Data." And bearing further witness to the truth was "The Real Reagan Record," which was brought forth to much acclaim, but for the evildoers, who cursed it, and which set right the deeds of the man known as Reagan. And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* saw the multitudes hunger for the economic truth on taxation, welfare, health care, income distribution, the deficit, federal spending, government regulations, and more. And they saw the multitudes yearning for deliverance from the economic deceptions that fell from the mouths of liberals.


The conservative guidebook to busting liberal economic myths
The Right Data
By National Review Economics Analyst Edwin S. Rubenstein
Introduction by Jack Kemp

And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* gathered up all the works of the man known as Rubenstein, and had him collect hundreds of charts and graphs that spoke with clarity on the many issues on which the multitudes yearned for truth. And the man known as Rubenstein did thus, and he called his charts and graphs "Raw Data." And to these things was joined "The Real Reagan Record."

And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* brought forth these things as a book, which measured over 400 pages, unto which the man known as Jack Kemp, the one detested by the tax collectors, offered an Introduction. And it was pleasing to the eye, and the laymen rejoiced because its words of truth were easy to understand and smote the wicked economic distortions of the liberals. And they called the book ***The Right Data***, and they sold it for $14.95, which was a savings of $3.00 off the cover price. And the multitudes declared the book affordable. And the critics sung its praises. And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* proclaimed it to be a wonderful gift idea, which ***The Right Data*** is. And the liberal economists, the politicians, and the tax collectors hurled epithets and plucked at their beards and ground their teeth as they cursed the light that emanated from ***The Right Data***. But the light reigned.

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32 Years and Out?

STEADY TEDDY

With a dashing opponent closing in and an unpopular President weighing him down, liberal icon Ted Kennedy may be shown the door after three decades in the Senate.

DAVID BRUDNOY

EVERY six years, as he steps forward to let the masses know of his availability for continued occupancy of the governmental seat to which he is entitled by divine right, Edward Moore Kennedy, the Senior Senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, hears a familiar refrain: this year things will be different; this year there will be an opponent of more than token significance; this year those irritating Republicans have managed to find somebody who'll give him a run for his money.

And each year it is a delusion, floated hopefully by the Republicans, who wonder just how long the dynasty can last, and given a bit of credence by the media, which find the routine slaughter of the GOP innocent by the savvy senior senator a bore. Had you time and curiosity enough, you could go back to the early 1960s and trace the delusions that have led those who would defeat him and those who would chronicle the defeat to miss the point, and the boat. The *S.S. Kennedy* has been unsinkable.

At least until now. Or is this just another media myth bearing no relation to reality? This is not my first *NR* piece on why this year is different from all other years, but one must hope that it will be my last. We are coterminous on the scene, Ted and I, I having come up to Massachusetts from New Haven in 1962, he having arrived at the age of 30, just old enough to take over the Senate seat occupied until then by the compliant college pal of his brother, the President.

Mr. Brudnoy is New England's leading talk-radio host. His program can be heard in most of the Eastern states from 7 P.M. to midnight.

The Myth of Ineffectuality

ONE OF the myths spread by people who don't like Ted Kennedy is that he is ineffectual. The rap should be that he is effectual, and we dearly wish he weren't. Who can forget his hysterical attack on Robert Bork? If confirmed as a Supreme Court Justice, Kennedy said, Bork would bring back an America of back-alley abortions, Negroes pushed to the rear of the bus, and other vivid images of Reaction Rife. Bork didn't become a Supreme Court Justice, but Ted Kennedy won re-election by a sizable margin the next time he was up.

Indeed, except for the 54.2 per cent squeaker back in 1962, all of his victories have been gratifyingly unambiguous. After a special two-year term, he ran again in 1964, having suffered a broken back in a plane accident. He triumphed in 1970, in the wake of Chappaquiddick, running against who can remember whom?—though I do remember being sought as the candidate by some Bay State conservatives who thought a young doctoral candidate and *NR* essayist would make a nifty sacrificial lamb. On through 1976, 1982, 1988, and now, you would think, an election that will extend his tenure in the Senate into the first days of the twenty-first century.

Ted's success, of course, is partly due to his status as torchbearer for The Family. If you want to experience a little despair around election time, tune in to a local talk program as the devoted Kennedy worshippers call to insist that since The Family has given so much—Joe, Jack, Bobby—it is unseemly even to contemplate a vote for anyone else. This cohort may be aging and dying off, but in Massachusetts the argument has long legs.

Still, nostalgia and dynasty worship aren't sufficient to explain Kennedy's three decades of highly impressive electoral victories. Far from ineffectual, he has been the very model of a modern tax-spend liberal. Ted Kennedy could not have voted as he has and repeatedly won re-election in Mississippi or in Utah, and his one odd miscalculation, the attempt to replace Jimmy Carter in 1980, demonstrated how tightly wound are the Bay State tethers binding Kennedy to those who love him.

Of course, Democratic senators across the country have perfected the technique of voting left for five years and then speaking right come election time. But there was an almost engaging effrontery about Senator Kennedy's recent speech supporting a bill to restrain unfunded federal mandates. "I am deeply concerned that the costs of meeting federal requirements," he said, "are making it harder and harder for many communities to hire more teachers, more police officers, or more firefighters . . . Congress must be sensitive to the burdens federal legislation

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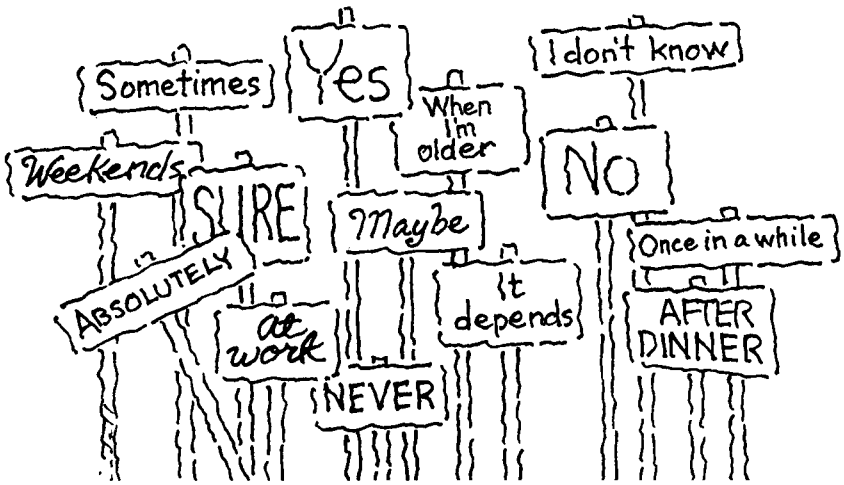

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may impose on state and local governments."

A Lot of Mandates

THIRTY-TWO years in the Senate amounts to a lot of legislation, including decades of unfunded mandates, particularly of the hug-a-tree variety so popular with the Vice President. Kennedy's record of support for such mandates is almost dutiful; it includes votes for the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, the Coastal Zone Management Act, the Water Pollution Control Act, the Endangered Species Act, the Toxic Substances Control Act, the Superfund Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Occupational Safety and Health Act. Most of these votes were attacked by fiscal conservatives as piling huge burdens on local governments and private businesses that did not always have the economic strength to bear them. And not just by fiscal conservatives. The U.S. Conference of Mayors generally counts as a moderate-to-liberal forum; but its study of the impact of unfunded federal mandates concluded that their total cost for 1993 came to $6.4 billion, and the projected costs for 1994–98 amount to an astounding $54 billion.

Massachusetts was not, of course, exempt from these effects. The study showed that the fiscal-1993 costs incurred by its cities from these mandates included $4.5 million for Boston, $17.8 million for Lynn, and $14.6 million for Springfield. To be fair, Massachusetts has long resonated to that kind of compassionate-*cum*-interventionist voting. So in Senator Ted the state may have got what it wanted; it certainly got what it deserved.

Another piece of effrontery: a fierce foe of "greed," especially during the wicked Reagan years, Kennedy found no difficulty in voting for nearly two dozen congressional pay raises. He and his colleagues were earning $30,000 in 1965; by 1993, the congressional salary was $133,600. But that's not what Senator Ted means by greed. Here is how he explained the concept in the June 10, 1992, *Congressional Record*: "But attitudes took a dramatic turn for the worse in the 1980s. The same distorted obsession with short-term profit that characterized that decade of greed—that brought us a wave of mergers and leveraged buy-outs, the savings and loan scandal, and skyrocketing executive salaries—is reflected in the sudden increase in the use of permanent replacements."

The solution? Luxury taxes. Few voters in Massachusetts, where economics is not widely understood, realized that ludicrously high taxes on fancy cars, boats, yachts, furs, gems, and the like harm the rich less than the much larger cohort of people who build yachts, service fancy cars, sell snazzy furs, and polish pretty gemstones. Like most of his constituents, Kennedy found the economic case against luxury taxes far less persuasive than the emotional reaction in favor of them. But events are a great teacher. The tax caused the shutdown of yacht-building yards and a sharp increase in unemployment among their workers. Congress repealed the luxury tax (except for the levy on fancy cars), with Kennedy voting in favor.

From 1963, when Kennedy first took his seat in the Senate, until now, he has effectively served the perceived interests of his constituents. If the Bubbacracy weren't in such disarray, and the President and his co-President so massively unpopular, Kennedy could continue this sort of voting for yet another term, or more.

This year, however, may be different. (I know, I know.) The incumbent faces not a sacrificial lamb or a zealot but a charming young businessman, son of former Michigan Governor George Romney, a self-made millionaire blessed by a lovely wife and five handsome sons, possessed of a made-for-media voice and a seemingly irrepressible habit of getting under Senator Ted's skin. W. Mitt Romney is also a Mormon, an affiliation that doesn't seem to distress Ted in the case of his good friend Orrin Hatch. Never has Senator Kennedy challenged Senator Hatch to say whether he disagreed with his church's pre-1978 position on blacks in the ministry. But the senator's nephew, Representative Joe Kennedy, the self-styled pit bull of The Family, launched an awkward assault on Romney's religion, then apologized for the remark in an open letter. Romney refused to accept the apology, whereupon Senator Ted weighed in with a clever bit of cheesiness in which he disavowed any intention of using Romney's religion in the campaign.

The Hunk Factor

THE religion matter seems to be helping Romney. His supporters have repeatedly noted that Senator Ted's brother, back in 1960, had to fend off attacks by anti-Catholic worrywarts (or bigots). The visuals—the matinee idol Mitt and his brood of mini-Mitt hunks versus the aging senator—have also helped Romney. After all, the handsome Ted of the 1960s did not exactly hide his good looks as he ran against less physically favored Republicans. Sad though it may be, the look of a politician is not incidental to the public perception of him. And though Kennedy, especially since his marriage to the vivacious Victoria Reggie, has slimmed down and is no longer Jabba the Hutt, he is still no Mel Gibson—or Mitt Romney.

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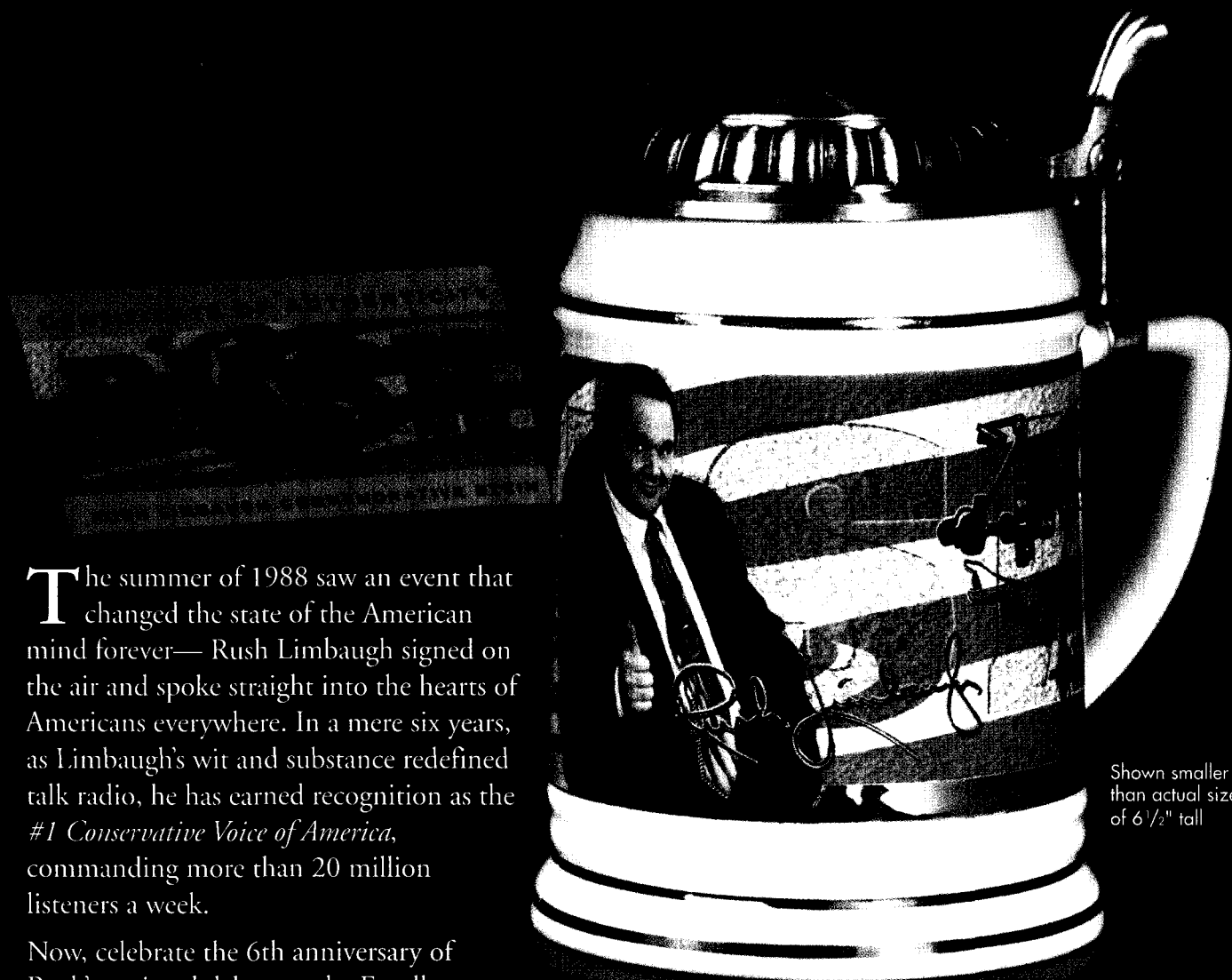

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We approach the end. Both camps are nervous, with mere days to go before the election and the polls showing a dead heat. Slash-and-burn ads are the order of the day. The Kennedy campaign insists that Romney has destroyed jobs as a venture capitalist. Yet the *Boston Globe*, long a lapdog of the Kennedys, reported: "A *Boston Globe* examination of [Romney's] investment shows that as a businessman Romney did a lot more building than slashing, that the bulk of the companies he worked with ended up stronger and more profitable, and that more of his companies added jobs than cut them. The record . . . looks even better when set against the backdrop of the American economy. . . . Bain Capital [Romney's main company] was actively involved with 61 companies. Of those, 36 added jobs, 14 had no change in employment, and 11 had decreases, most quite modest. . . . But clearly Bain's winning percentage was better than the economy's as a whole."

Mitt Romney seems to be pretty much the hero his devotees see him as, and making a fuss about a guy's unusual religion, when his personal record of tolerance and good-natured openness is undisputed, is a nonstarter. If this isn't the year that Ted Kennedy finally passes into a comfy retirement, then one has to say that no such year looms on the horizon. The tides turn, the winds shift, and even The Family's dynastic fortunes may at last be on the wane. □

Godfather of the Immigration Mess

SENATOR Edward Kennedy has been the godfather of America's immigration policy since the mid 1960s. No other figure in American politics bears as much responsibility as he for the current pathetic state of U.S. immigration affairs.

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration, Senator Kennedy has had chief oversight responsibility for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which he has allowed to degenerate into one of the most ineffective agencies in the Federal Government. He was the chief sponsor of the Immigration Amendments of 1965 and the Refugee Act of 1980, and a major proponent of the fraud-ridden 1986 immigration amnesty. In each case, he has grossly miscalculated the number of immigrants who would enter the country, the administrative burdens on the INS, and the magnitude of fraud.

In 1965, the American people were guaranteed that immigration would never exceed its then low level of 250,000 a year. Today, it is at an all-time high: nearly one million a year and growing. Because of persistent congressional miscalculations, immigrants and their descendants will fuel a massive increase in the population of the United States for the foreseeable future. Immigration continues unabated, without regard to changing U.S. labor markets, conditions in the inner cities, or the growing costs to state and local taxpayers.

Mr. Stein is executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform.

Kennedy's role in creating this situation has been enormous.

Miscalculations of the impact on immigration of changes he sponsored. Legislation that Kennedy marshaled through Congress in the mid 1960s, 1980, and 1990 produced massive immigration flows—flows of a magnitude unprecedented in American history—for which the American public and the INS were, and are, ill prepared. Despite repeated promises from Kennedy that these laws would not increase overall immigration, they have done just that.

Miscalculations of the administrative impact of his changes. Senator Kennedy has persistently miscalculated the administrative impact of changes he has made in immigration laws. For example, the 1980 Refugee Act was designed to remove foreign-policy considerations from the formulation of our refugee laws. Instead, it laid the foundations for a massive bureaucracy that has sent phony asylum applications skyrocketing to over 100,000 a year.

Another example is the Seasonal Agricultural Worker (SAW) amnesty. This program was enacted at the behest of Senator Kennedy as an alternative to the temporary-worker program promoted by California growers. The SAW amnesty was estimated by the *New York Times* to have fraud rates as high as 70 per cent, and the number of people who took advantage of the amnesty was estimated to be at least three times the number that were qualified given the size of America's agricultural labor force.

Huge backlogs, crushing numbers. Thanks to Senator Kennedy's mismanagement of the nation's immigration laws, there are now over three million people on the visa waiting list, which stretches for years and years. Thanks to the amnesty pushed by Senator Kennedy in 1986, millions more will be getting onto the list in the next three years. This volume of applications will crush an already dysfunctional system.

Visa fraud. It is now impossible to detect people who overstay visas. INS has no effective arrival/departure tracking system, so those who enter through fraud can never be detected.

Ineffective border patrolling. We now have a Border Patrol that is unable to stop most of those who seek to enter the nation illegally. Since the mid 1970s, the Border Patrol has been returning apprehended aliens right back to the border to try again moments later. Senator Kennedy's tacit acceptance of this status quo has been a source of growing dissatisfaction in Massachusetts and across the country.

Lack of oversight. In the past 14 years, Senator Kennedy has held only one general oversight hearing on the operations of the immigration service. He has ignored or glossed over the causes of America's immigration crisis, including massive administrative backlogs, overburdened investigators, inadequate detention space, large-scale asylum fraud, and ineffective use of technology.

Today, amid a national clamor for more effective immigration controls, Senator Kennedy stands as the politician most responsible for the mess.

—DAN STEIN

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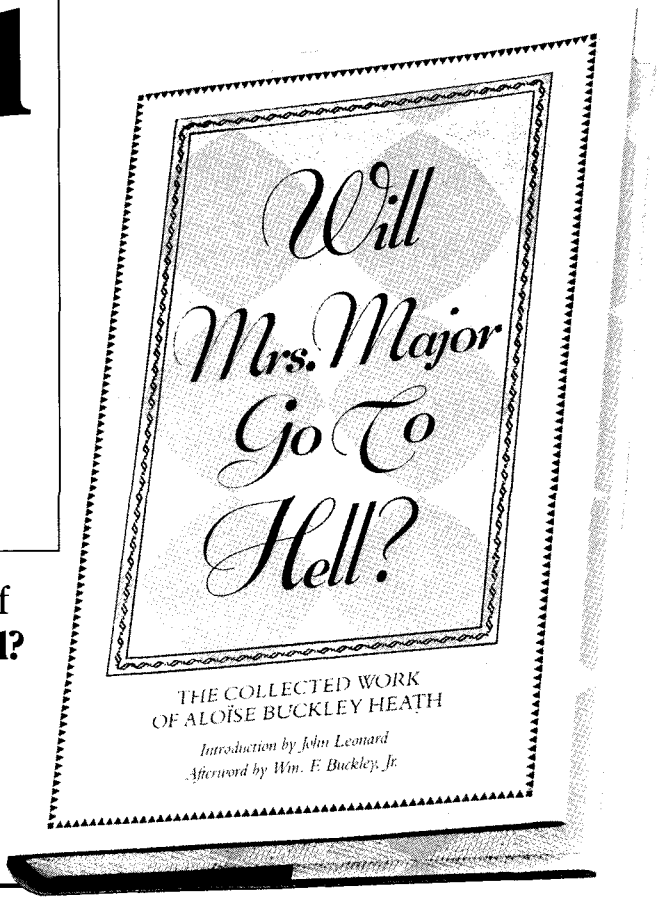
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FAX POPULI

Armed with computers and fax machines, grass-roots organizations are shaking up the liberal establishment.

RICH LOWRY

ON WEDNESDAY morning, September 28, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich phoned to tell Free Congress Foundation President Paul Weyrich that his staff had found some troubling provisions in the lobbying reform bill about to hit the House floor. In previous incarnations the bill had passed the Senate 95 to 4, and the House 315 to 110. But in conference—where negotiators meet to reconcile the Senate and House versions of a bill—language had been added that could impose onerous registration requirements on conservative grass-roots groups. Gingrich faxed Weyrich a draft of a "Dear Colleague" letter outlining the bill's trouble spots, Weyrich distributed it to the noon meeting of conservative activist groups at Free Congress, and soon the lobbying bill was under siege.

Gingrich also phoned Rush Limbaugh, who spent much of Thursday talking about the bill on his show. Weyrich appeared on the popular radio talk show hosted by Michael Reagan (son of Ronald Reagan) and slammed the bill on his National Empowerment Television network. The Republican Study Committee in the House faxed an alert to 500 talk-show hosts across the country. Representative Tom DeLay (R., Tex.) appeared on a dozen shows, including Limbaugh's. Americans for Tax Reform faxed a warning about the bill to 7,800 trade associations across the country. The Christian Coalition activated its fax network, reaching about 2,000 leaders nationally. So did just about every other conservative grass-roots organization. On Thursday the bill passed a key test in the House by only six votes, and the next week it died of a filibuster in the Senate.

"We were able to energize the nation in two hours," says DeLay. "We met with our Wednesday lunch group, informed the outside groups about the bill, and within two hours people were tying up the phone lines from all across the country. It killed the bill."

The obscure life and rapid death of the lobbying bill was a fitting punctuation mark to the 103rd Congress. Here was a piece of legislative arcana—purportedly affecting only Washington's pricey operators, crafted largely in the insiders' sanctum of a conference committee—that prompted outrage among ordinary Americans. Things aren't supposed to work this way in Washington. Now they do, thanks to a twin revolution: the rise of instant communications technology, (faxes, talk radio, the Internet), and the blossoming of an enormous grass-roots anti-government movement.

This techno-roots revolution threatens Washington's traditional liberalism, which has thrived in the dark recesses of Capitol Hill and the mind-boggling verbiage of 500-page bills. Information, rapidly spread, is simply taking away its base of operations. The enormous liberal edifice—from the universities to the Hollywood studios, from the networks to the White House—is being cracked by ordinary people. The establishment can hardly believe it. Reports the *New York Times*' Adam Clymer: "Republicans were careful to say they opposed the lobbying bill because it might hurt grass-roots lobbyists, not the Gucci-shod, K Street professional who stood outside the Senate chamber and cheered Thursday's vote." Also standing outside the chamber was Marshall Wittmann, legislative director of the 1.4-million-member Christian Coalition. Footwear? "I get my shoes at Hahn's," he quips.

"This is the 'We want to be left alone' coalition," explains Grover Norquist of Americans for Tax Reform, itself an important grass-roots network. "The Clinton power grab didn't work because the country saw it coming. Most of the Left just have no clue why they lost. They really believe General Motors or some corporate lobbyist beat them. But it was the grass roots. The creation of syndicated talk radio and fax machines means you can get a response from the American people about what's happening in Washington *today*."

Sometimes Republicans didn't have a clue either, but the key to their successes in the 103rd Congress was finally recognizing the latent power of the grass-roots movements. The confluence of a public revolted by Washington and a liberal White House determined to overreach sometimes led to the appearance, as with the lobbying bill, of a major departure from politics as usual. Whether those moments can be recaptured next year will be crucial in determining the future of the Republican Party, and perhaps American politics.

Gore's Disappointment

THE rightward shift effected by the techno-roots revolution is apparent from the tattered condition of environmentalism. The 103rd Congress was supposed to produce a raft of environmental bills—elevating the EPA to Cabinet level, rewriting the Mining Act, reauthorizing the Endangered Species Act, ratifying the Biodiversity Treaty, etc. The Democrats got only the California Desert Protection Act, and that just barely.

Environmentalist goals have been blocked by the property-rights movement. Five years ago it barely existed; now it's a behemoth. The Alliance for America, based in Caroga Lake, New York, was founded in 1991 as a network of 23 property-rights groups. Today, the volunteer-run umbrella organization covers 650 groups and has a fax network that reaches 3,000 organizations, which in turn each send faxed material along to four or five other groups. Putting People First, based in Helena, Montana, was started in 1990 by a designer after her daughter was

Mr. Lowry is NR*'s national political reporter.*

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subjected to an anti-hunting diatribe in school; it has 40,000 members and its own radio program. The Oregon Lands Coalition, founded five years ago, has 82,000 members. The list goes on.

"The press can now tell stories about regulation hurting people, not profit statements," says Jonathan Adler of the Competitive Enterprise Institute. "That has totally changed the battlefield."

And the warriors. "We're talking ranch housewives," says David Howard of the Alliance for America, "who have bought fax machines to do this, and feel like finally they're being heard." Environmentalism now comes at a political price. Indiana Congressman Jim Jontz was a tireless promoter of legislation to place Pacific Northwest forests off-limits to logging. In 1992 Oregon loggers visited his district to campaign against him door to door. "We brought them into blue-collar neighborhoods," says Howard, "and they'd say, 'We work for a living, but you keep sending this congressman back who's putting us out of work.'" Jontz lost his re-election bid.

Other congressmen paid attention. Last year, Congress took up the idea of a National Biological Survey, to catalogue the nation's plants and animals. Property-rights advocates saw the survey as a foot in the door for the kind of land grabs effected by the Endangered Species Act. They pushed for amendments scuttling some of its more obnoxious provisions (one amendment required survey officials to ask permission before going onto private property). Its sponsors chose to pull the survey from congressional consideration entirely rather than see it pass in the amended form. Fear of similar amendments kept major items like hoisting the EPA to Cabinet level and reauthorizing the Endangered Species Act from getting big pushes in Congress. What might have been the greenest Congress ever turned yellow.

On other issues the grass-roots coalition may not be quite so freshly minted or clearly delineated. But it was there, as Republicans discovered when they were aggressive and confrontational enough to coax it out.

At first, Republican legislators almost had to be forced into playing hardball. When the economic-stimulus bill hit the Senate floor in 1993, Senator Robert Byrd (D., W.V.) fixed

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the measure so that it could not be amended. "Everyone loves spending," says one Senate aide. "There's a 100 per cent likelihood a stimulus bill would have been passed if a Republican amendment had been allowed to be offered." It wasn't, and the bill died. The budget battle had the same hallmarks. It was a partisan fight from the outset, with Republicans honing their message: staying broad rather than detailed, dramatic rather than green-eyeshade dull, firm rather than flexible.

Clinton won the budget fight, but Republicans were now better prepared for the health-care battle. Again, they were almost forced into their relatively united, aggressive opposition. "Dumb luck," one Senate aide calls it.

"If the Democrats had pulled off of the Clinton bill and gone to the more centrist Cooper bill early enough," argues another, "they probably would have been able to create a 'Cooper-minus' bill with enough Republicans to get something through early on."

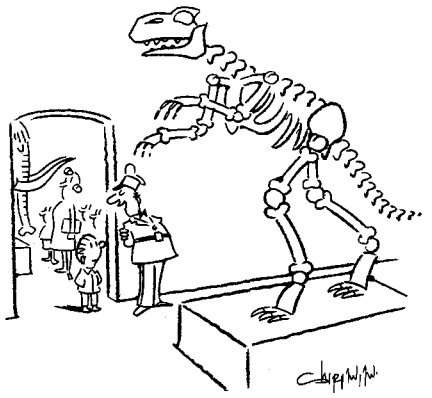
But it was more than luck. On health, Republicans in the Senate, where the endgame occurred, had energetic leadership in tune with the spirit of the grass-roots opposition.

Making the Leader Lead

IT DIDN'T come from Bob Dole. The minority leader's virtues as a tactician are considerable, but his instincts and style are old politics. He hates meetings, hates letting anyone know what he thinks, and is really loath to lead. So on health, a cadre of more conservative "new generation" senators worked to ensure that Dole's wiliness wouldn't define the GOP opposition: they pushed him out in front of their juggernaut against Clinton-style reform.

As the Senate Finance Committee was taking up health care, Dole was downcast at the renewed prospect of defections by as many as ten Republicans. Conservatives, both inside and outside the Senate, told him he had to get tough; if he led, they'd follow. Soon Dole was laying down the partisan law in meetings of the Republican conference. It was a turning point. Meanwhile, a group of senators under Bob Packwood's leadership (including Don Nickles of Oklahoma, Trent Lott of Mississippi, Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, Paul Coverdell of Georgia, Dan Coats of Indiana, and Judd Gregg of New Hampshire) met in an office near Dole's twice daily—an unheard-of organizational effort—to plot strategy on the most important legislative fight in a decade. Dole would occasionally stroll by, wave, and make a good-natured wisecrack. The Packwood group was keenly aware of the need to bypass the traditional media (Coverdell regularly ushered Republicans in front of a TV camera for a satellite feed to local and regional media), and constantly coordinated tactics with conservative grass-roots groups.

Before health care reached its dénouement, the crime bill intervened. The dynamics of that struggle recalled an earlier battle: last February's fight over a teacher-certification requirement that would have effectively eliminated home schooling. In a little over a



"It was delicious."

week, home-schoolers poured an estimated one million calls into Congress, at one point inundating the office of House Rules Committee Chairman Joe Moakley to ensure a favorable procedural ruling. "It was like a bullet right between the eyes," one House staffer says of the telephone onslaught.

But the inside-Washington potential of the conservative grass roots didn't become completely clear until the fight over the crime bill. Gingrich hadn't thought it possible to derail a crime bill until he heard people out in the country talking about pork in the bill. They had picked up the details on talk radio. Gingrich rallied opposition in the hopes of making the vote close, and unexpectedly brought the bill down on a procedural vote.

Then Gingrich stumbled. He and his lieutenants—such as Dick Armey (Tex.), Tom DeLay, and Ernest Istook (Okla.)—understand the value of confrontation and don't normally shy from it. And behind them they have a whole new generation of hungry members who haven't yet lost their edge. (If Republicans add 40 freshman in this year's election, about half of Republican members will have been elected since 1990.) But on the crime bill Gingrich chose low-key negotiations with the White House, and the bill passed with partial Republican support in almost its original form.

Learning Fast

THE IDEA that public opinion would seriously oppose a "crime" bill hadn't yet sunk in. Now it has. Some Republicans who voted for the bill were pounded with brickbats—Jon Kyl (Ariz.) received over one thousand letters attacking his vote—and they say they'd have voted differently if they had understood the public anger. Dole, who suffered the ultimate Washington embarrassment when he decided to fight the bill and lost—betrayed by a handful of moderates—received a hero's welcome on his campaign tour following the vote. "It was great," he says. "And they were climbing all over the Republicans who left us." The House Republican leadership has come to realize that brinkmanship instead of conciliation should have been the crime-bill strategy. "Instead of drawing a line in the sand with the moderates, we encouraged them to negotiate," says DeLay. "And when you negotiate you get intoxicated with the negotiation."

The crime-bill battle fostered an image of the Republicans as the anti-government, anti-Washington party rather than the out-of-touch establishment of George Bush and Jim Baker. "The nine iron is not the icon of the Republican Party," says one Republican National Committee official. "On the crime bill, we established that, and it happened almost overnight." Chances of any health-care deal, already shrinking, disappeared. Then Republicans felt confident enough to knock down other Clintonite proposals, including campaign-finance reform.

Can they keep it up? The techno-roots revolution has its own momentum, which makes it tougher for Republicans to be co-opted. It changes the focus of a debate from whatever the *Washington Post* reports about a bill to what Republican staffers or conservative activists find in it. "The alternative media enable Republicans to

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control the content of the debate in a way that wouldn't have been possible before," says Grover Norquist. "You cannot have any more what you had with the Clean Air Act in 1990: 'This is a bill for clean air, you gotta vote for it.' There just was no in-depth reporting from the traditional media outlets. It would never occur to them to say, 'Gee, there are 1,000 pages here. I wonder what's in here.'"

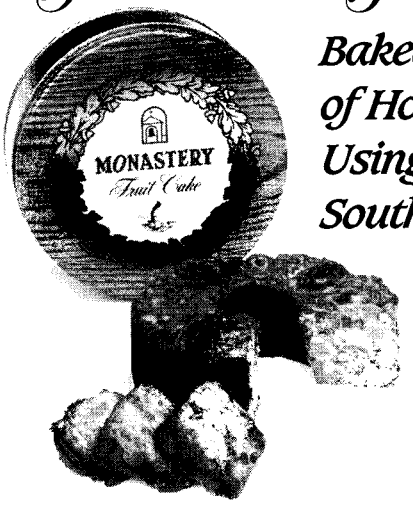
In the same way, Republicans can no longer take comfort in "strange new respect" from the *Washington Post* or *New York Times* when they stray to the left; any new respect will be counterbalanced by insistent opprobrium from the new conservative information sources. So it is that the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which once would have gone quietly off into Washington respectability, has been pulled back from its flirtation with Clintonism.

Furthermore, the generational changes in both Houses are real and meaningful. In the Senate, Dole still has solid support even though he's part of the old guard. But Alan Simpson (Wyo.), the do-nothing Senate minority whip, may be in for a stiff challenge after this fall's election; dumping him would be the equivalent of Newt Gingrich's replacement of Dick Cheney as House minority whip in 1989. (In fact, some of Gingrich's old allies in the House, such as Trent Lott, are providing fresh Republican energy in the Senate.) And in the House, of course, Gingrich is set to take over as minority leader (or even speaker) after the elections.

These are all factors that encourage Republican cohesion and aggressiveness. But if the Republicans win either the Senate or the House—let alone both—it will be hard for them to keep from getting swallowed up by the same anti-Washington forces that are dragging down Clinton. "They don't reject all government," pollster Frank Luntz says of the general public. "They are rejecting Washington. The public is saying, 'To hell with you—you wrecked the country.'"

Snuffing out that cynicism will require acts of education and leadership: making people realize they hate Washington not just because it's there but because it's too big and does too much. The fear is that if Republicans win only the Senate—led by Dole, facing a more conciliatory White House and a House still under the control of

Heavenly Fruitcakes



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Democrats, and with moderates like Olympia Snowe and Michael Huffington perhaps replacing moderates like Jack Danforth and Dave Durenberger—they'll be tempted to go along as usual. "If we think we're going to be measured by what we pass and by what we create rather than by what we get rid of," says Senator Coverdell, "we will have lost the revolution."

A Republican punt this time around could begin to make the farfetched conceivable. "There's a lot of sentiment out there for another party," says Paul Weyrich. "I think Republicans will have one more shot at it." □

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The deregulation of intrastate trucking will save shippers—and consumers—a bundle.

JONATHAN MARSHALL

CONGRESS is deadlocked on health care and stymied over telecommunications reform; it was barely able even to pass new crime legislation this year. Yet, unheralded in news reports, it managed in the doldrums of August to pass one of the most significant pieces of national economic legislation in more than a decade: the total deregulation of trucking within all 50 states.

January 1 will be the start of a happy new year for American consumers. On that date, state and local agencies will be barred from further regulating the "prices, routes, or services" of motor carriers, except movers of household goods. (States will still police truck safety and insurance.) Most federal regulation of interstate trucking ended in 1980, but until now 41 states have continued to limit the business freedom of trucking firms that haul goods within their borders.

"The savings could be staggering," says Cassandra Moore, an adjunct scholar with the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington. Estimates by economists suggest that consumers and shippers could quickly be sharing a bounty of $6 billion to $8 billion a year from lower freight charges as truckers are forced to compete. Additional savings of twice that sum could arise from more flexible management of business inventories made possible by more efficient transportation services.

Freed from artificial constraints on the rates they can charge, the routes they can serve, the goods they can haul, and the markets they can enter, carriers will finally be allowed to serve their customers without fear of sanction by meddlesome regulators. "The industry has operated with regulation for over 60 years, and now it's a completely new playing field," says Dave Titus, a spokesman for the California Trucking Association.

State regulators unhappily agree. "This will bring about revolutionary changes in all of the states," says William Schulte, head of the transportation division at the California Public Utilities Commission, which stands to lose a big chunk of its budget.

This must be one of the least publicized revolutions in history, however. It passed Congress with nary a mention from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, or broadcast network news. It was a revolution planned mostly behind closed doors—it was drafted at the last minute by a House–Senate conference and buried in a giant airport-spending bill.

To be sure, the idea wasn't new. For several years, a 200-member coalition of trucking firms, shippers, and consumer groups known as Americans for Safe and Competitive Trucking has fought to extend the benefits of trucking deregulation to the states. It noted that shippers had to pay more to send a load 15 miles from San Francisco to Oakland, a regulated state route, than 200 miles from San Francisco to Reno, a deregulated interstate route, and that it was cheaper for Federal Express to fly packages traveling within Indiana all the way to its Memphis hub and back.

While some carriers thrived on rules and regulations that protected them from price competition, others of a more entrepreneurial bent resented the loss of potential business. And nearly all chafed at state requirements that they file reams of paperwork with public-utilities commissions to document tariffs, contracts, and other business relationships. National firms had to keep track of 50 different ways of doing their business.

Edge of the Wedge

THE FIRST big break came in 1991, when Federal Express won a court case freeing it from state regulation in several Western states on the grounds that it was an intermodal carrier relying extensively on air transport, a federal regulatory responsibility. Eager to stay competitive, United Parcel Service sought a similar exemption in California last year by an act of the legislature. UPS pressed its case further this year and in June got Senator Wendell Ford, the Kentucky Democrat who chairs the Aviation Subcommittee and whose state houses the company's largest distribution facility, to propose a special-interest measure deregulating large air-package services as part of a $4.9-billion airport-grant bill.

Before long, other major carriers demanded inclusion in the bill. Yellow Freight, based in Kansas, got Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole to champion its cause. Senator Jesse Helms (R., N.C.) lined up behind Carolina Freight Corp. As others followed suit, the bill eventually exempted from state regulation any trucking company that put its freight on its own or someone else's airline at least 15,000 times a year.

In the House, recalls Eric White, chief lobbyist for Americans for Safe and Competitive Trucking, "we made the case that a lot of small trucking fleets weren't covered, and the legislation was so bizarre that when it went

Mr. Marshall is economics editor of the San Francisco Chronicle.

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to the courts it might be trouble even for those who thought it covered them." At that point, Representative Norman Mineta (D., Calif.), who chairs the Public Works and Transportation Committee, threw up his hands and said that only a level playing field would work.

Friends of big labor, including Representative Nick Rahall (D., W.Va.), chairman of the Surface Transportation Subcommittee, had long blocked legislation to that end, fearing the effect of competition on driver wages and union strength. But as more and more truckers scrambled to jump on the bandwagon that UPS had set in motion, resistance to deregulation faded fast. No one wanted to hold up the airport-spending bill on which the trucking measure was hitchhiking. Republicans were solidly in favor of deregulation; the Clinton Administration (like the Carter Administration in 1980) was staunchly behind it too; and the Teamsters Union was weakened by leadership squabbles and the competitive pressures unleashed by interstate trucking deregulation. And so the miracle no one expected actually happened. A House–Senate conference committee added the trucking section to the airport bill, and both Houses passed the full package on August 8.

More was to come the next day. Senators James Exon (D., Neb.) and Robert Packwood (R., Ore.) attached to a bill covering transportation of hazardous materials a provision ending nearly all requirements that truckers file tariffs with the Interstate Commerce Commission. Even though the agency had lost its power to set prices in 1980, it had continued to accumulate millions of sheets of paper documenting interstate rates. This power imposed more than a simple paperwork burden. Under a quirk in the law, a bankrupt trucking company could sue its shipper clients for the difference between rates filed with the ICC, which everyone ignored, and actual negotiated rates, which were often lower. In the years since 1980, this time bomb had blown up in the faces of trucking customers across the country, costing them millions of dollars. Revoking the requirement that truckers file rates with the ICC will defuse this time bomb.

Truckers Unbound

THESE two measures will unleash the entrepreneurial energies of carriers who have been bound and gagged by state regulations. As one trucker puts it, "On January 1, I plan on revamping everything in my business. It makes me feel almost like a kid, chomping at the bit to put together a package [of new rates and services] that will get me more business and keep my customers happy. It is for sure going to lower prices to customers. If I'm smart enough, I'll make my trucks more efficient, too."

Multiply that reaction many times over, and the economic significance of deregulation becomes clear. "It's more than any Administration has ever dreamed about enacting," says Edward Rastatter, a senior policy analyst at the Transportation Department, who has served there since the late 1970s. Noting that the deregulation of interstate trucking enacted in 1980 is now

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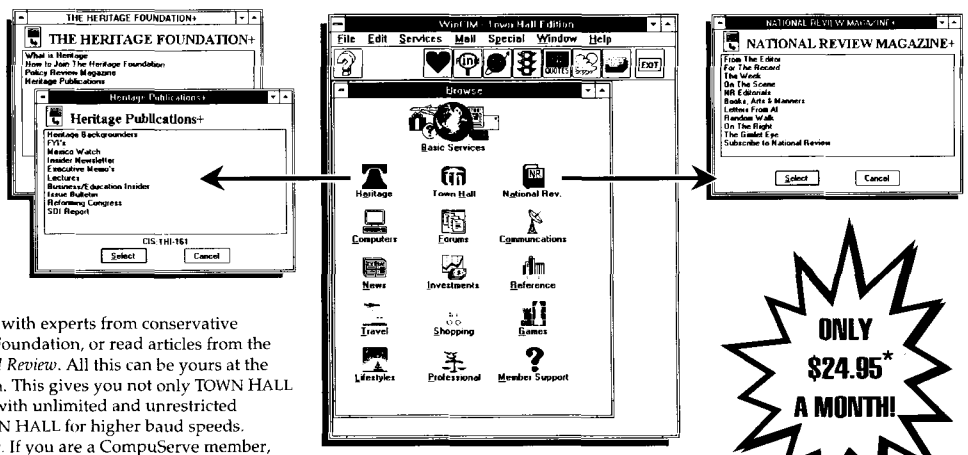

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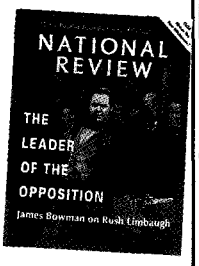

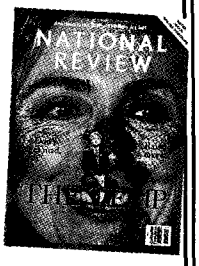

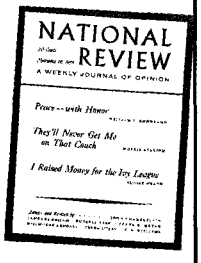

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saving consumers and shippers more than $15 billion a year, he predicts the new law will lead to about $7 billion in additional direct savings. "There should definitely be a slowdown in the increase in prices [of goods] and some cuts in prices," he says. "We think firms will have to pass on the savings [to consumers]. We are pretty excited about it."

The rewards to the economy could be much greater yet if more efficient, flexible trucking allows manufacturers and retailers to adopt just-in-time inventory methods, slashing interest and warehouse costs. Robert Delaney of Cass Logistics, a management software firm in St. Louis, estimated in 1987 that intrastate trucking deregulation could cut carrying and holding costs throughout the economy by about $13 billion a year.

Even more than the direct savings to consumers and shippers, the passage of trucking deregulation sends a powerful message that legitimate competition should not be arbitrarily constrained in any industry. That so controversial a measure could pass Congress so readily this year is a welcome sign that the ideological victory of capitalism in the Cold War has not gone entirely unheeded in the United States. □

Why National Review *Is Wrong*

VALUE ADDED

Immigrants are a net benefit to the nation and a natural Republican constituency—if the party doesn't blow it.

RON K. UNZ

THIS journal has performed a valuable service by clarifying the immigration debate. Rather than choosing the safe path of attacking only illegal immigration, *NR* has correctly pointed out that illegal immigration is dwarfed by legal immigration; that legal and illegal immigration share a wide range of important characteristics; and that most of the key arguments against the one apply to the other as well. Just as the debate about NAFTA became a referendum on free trade in general, so the controversy over illegal immigration is a proxy for a critical reappraisal of post-1965 immigration policy.

With the underlying issue clear, reasoned debate should be possible on the pros and cons of immigration. And on those pros and cons I differ sharply with *NR*. The evidence shows that the immigration of the last thirty years has been a large net benefit for America, as well as an important source of strength for political parties espousing conservative principles.

Anyone walking the streets of our major cities sees that the majority of the shops are owned and operated by immigrant entrepreneurs—Korean grocery stores, Indian newsstands, Chinese restaurants. Most of these shops simply would not exist without immigrant families willing to put in long hours of poorly paid labor to maintain and expand them, in the process improving our cities. In Los Angeles, the vast majority of hotel and restaurant workers are hard-working Hispanic immigrants, most of them here illegally, and anyone who believes that these unpleasant jobs would otherwise be filled by natives (either black or white) is living in a fantasy world.

The same applies to nearly all the traditional lower-rung working-class jobs in Southern California, including the nannies and gardeners whose widespread employment occasionally embarrasses the Zoë Bairds of this world (even as it facilitates their careers). The only means of making a job

Mr. Unz, a Silicon Valley entrepreneur, received more than a third of the vote in his Republican primary challenge to California Governor Pete Wilson.

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as a restaurant busboy even remotely attractive to a native American would be to raise the wage to $10 or $12 per hour, at which point the job would cease to exist.

Since most newcomers tend to be on the lower end of the wage scale, and since many have children in the public schools, they do tend to cost local governments more in services than they pay in sales and income taxes. (The same could probably be said for most members of the working class with young children.) This is the basis of California Governor Pete Wilson's lawsuit over the "costs" to California of illegal immigration. Yet the real culprit is our outrageously inefficient public-school system. Furthermore, because of their age profile, even working-class immigrants generally pay much more in federal taxes (primarily Social Security withholding) than they receive in federal benefits. So we might equally well say that immigrants are helping us balance the federal budget.

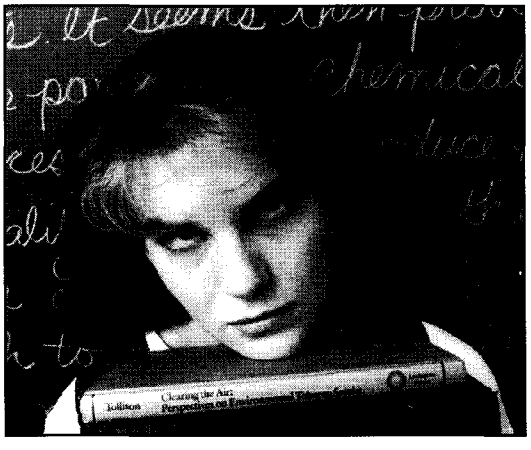
The Immigrant Edge

IMMIGRANTS are crucial not just to industries that rely on cheap, low-skilled labor. Silicon Valley, which is home to my own software company, depends on immigrant professionals to maintain its technological edge. A third of all the engineers and chip designers here are foreign born, and if they left, America's computer industry would probably go with them. In fact, many of the most important technology companies of the 1980s, in California and elsewhere, were created by immigrants, including Sun Microsystems, AST, ALR, Applied Materials, Everex, and Gupta. Borland International, a software company worth hundreds of millions of dollars, was founded by Philippe Kahn, an illegal immigrant. These immigrant companies have generated hundreds of thousands of good jobs in California for native Americans and have provided billions of dollars in tax revenues. Without a continuing influx of immigrants, America's tremendous and growing dominance in sunrise industries would rapidly be lost.

If the above list of technology companies seems unfamiliar to *NR*'s writers, this highlights an important underlying reason for *NR*'s anti-immigrant stance. Most public-policy writers travel in narrow literary, political, or legal circles and have minimal contact with the worlds of science or technology (just as most technologists and entrepreneurs ignore politics). But the money and prestige of Silicon Valley will decisively turn against the Republican Party if it adopts an anti-immigrant stance, just as they would if it decided to oppose free trade.

While several of the most parasitic sectors of American society—politicians, government bureaucrats, lawyers—are almost entirely filled with native Americans, each year one-third to one-half of the student winners of the Westinghouse Science Talent Search (America's most prestigious high-school science competition) come from immigrant families, often quite impoverished. Many of America's elite universities have student bodies that are 20 per cent Asian, with immigrants often accounting for half or more of the science and engineering students. NATIONAL REVIEW itself is not averse to seeking talent from abroad, notably including its leading anti-immigrant theorist (Peter Brimelow) and its editor (John O'Sullivan), both themselves recent immigrants, albeit from an Anglophone country.

So much for the purely economic side of the immigration ledger. The greater immigration concerns resonating among conservatives today are social and frankly racial: that the post-1965



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immigrants, overwhelmingly Asian and Hispanic, contribute disproportionately to crime, welfare dependency, and social decay, and that their non-European origins will exacerbate America's growing ethnic strife, leading perhaps to separatist ethnic nationalisms.

If this scenario does not come to pass, it will not be for want of trying by the government. State-sponsored affirmative action, bilingual education, and multiculturalism seem designed to promote ethnic conflict, while our welfare system breeds pathological levels of crime and dependency. But America's ethnic policies and welfare system would doom our future irrespective of immigration, and there is little evidence that the problems have any relation to immigrants, the overwhelming majority of whom are entrepreneurial and assimilationist.

A recent *NR* editorial made much of the statistic that 20 per cent of California's prison inmates are immigrants. But this is hardly surprising in a state where 20 per cent of the residents are immigrants. Contrast this with the truly alarming fact (unmentioned by *NR*) that blacks in California are incarcerated at nearly ten times the rate of the non-black population. Similarly, *NR*'s emphasis on the welfare dependency rate among non-refugee immigrants (7.8 per cent, versus 7.4 per cent for the general population—hardly a dramatic difference) seems like grasping at straws.

NR ignores the many countervailing indicators of immigrant advancement and assimilation. In California, for example, the ten most common names of recent home buyers include Martinez, Rodriguez, Garcia, Nguyen, Lee, and Wong, with the Nguyens outnumbering the Smiths 2 to 1 in affluent, conservative Orange County. Of California's Asians and Hispanics who were born in this country, nearly half marry into other ethnic groups, the strongest possible evidence of assimilation. These intermarriage rates are actually far higher than were those of Jews, Italians, or Poles as recently as the 1950s.

Or consider places in America where Peter Brimelow's deepest fears have already been realized, and white Americans of European origin ("Anglos") have become a minority of the population. San José, California, the 11th largest city in the nation, is one example, having a white population of less than 50 per cent, with the balance consisting mostly of Asian and Hispanic immigrants, including many illegal immigrants. San José has a flourishing economy, the lowest murder and robbery rates of any major city in America (less than one-fifth the rates in Dallas, for example), and virtually no significant ethnic conflict.

Similarly, El Paso, Texas, is the most heavily Hispanic (70 per cent) of America's fifty largest cities, but it also has one of the lowest rates of serious crime, with a robbery rate just half that of Seattle, an overwhelmingly white city of similar size. The American state with the lowest share of whites in the population (about one-third) is Hawaii, hardly notorious as a boiling cauldron of ethnic conflict and racial hostility. And despite its heavy urbanization, Hawaii has among the lowest serious-crime rates of any state in the nation.

Along Racial Lines

THE sad truth is that both crime and ethnic conflict today are almost entirely correlated with the presence of a black underclass, purely native and generally with American roots far deeper than most of *NR*'s staff or subscribers have. Confusing America's severe racial problems in this area with its comparatively minor immigrant tensions is as dishonest as it is politically unwise.

This dishonesty has been reinforced by the shameful deceit of the media in such matters. For example, the 1991 Mount Pleasant riot in a Hispanic neighborhood of D.C. has often been cited, not least in *NR*, as an example of Hispanic immigrant volatility, even though on-the-scene observers have pointed out that the rioters were primarily black. Similarly, during the Los Angeles riots the reluctance of the police to arrest black rioters and the attempt by the liberal media to portray the riots as a united multicultural uprising against the "system" blurred the fact that the rioters were almost all black, although Central American immigrants joined in some of the later looting. Heavily Hispanic East Los Angeles was one of the few parts of the city untouched by rioting or looting.

The political danger of an anti-immigrant position for Republicans is a consequence of demographics and voting strength. Today, 30 per cent of California's population is Hispanic and 10 per cent is Asian, with the vast majority being first- or second-generation Americans. Add in other immigrant groups classified as white, such as Iranians and Armenians, and the total comes to nearly half of California's population. Other large states, such as Texas and New York, have similar profiles.

Although immigrant voter registration is currently low—Asians and Hispanics account for just 10 per cent of California's voters in most elections—this will change. Even if all immigration (both legal and illegal) ended tomorrow, immigrants and their children would soon dominate California politically. Furthermore, the economic success of many Asian immigrants should soon make them a major source of political funding.

This is potentially a very good thing for conservatives. Hispanics are classic blue-collar Reagan Democrats, much like Italians or Slavs, whose strong social conservatism should naturally move them toward the Republican Party. Asians can best be described as being like Jews without liberal guilt, and their small-business background and hostility to affirmative action make them natural Republicans as well.

This analysis is not mere wishful thinking. Although nearly all of California's prominent Asian and Hispanic political figures are liberal Democrats, ordinary Asians and Hispanics have regularly given the Republicans 40 to 50 per cent of their vote, with Asians often voting more Republican than whites. Nearly every statewide Republican victory of the past decade depended on immigrant votes. So long as the Republican Party does not throw away its opportunity by turning anti-immigrant, these percentages should rise as immigrants grow in affluence and younger Asians and Hispanics rise through the ranks to become Republican leaders.

And since three of the most anti-immigrant constituencies in American society are blacks, union members, and environmentalists, it is likely that the Democratic Party will help push immigrants into the Republican camp. The virulently anti-immigrant leftist Senator Barbara Boxer (D., Calif.) is a notable example of this important trend. For the Republican Party to turn anti-immigrant would be a suicidal blunder. □

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No Questions Asked

HYPE OVERDOSE

Why does the press automatically accept reports of heroin overdoses, no matter how thin the evidence?

STANTON PEELE

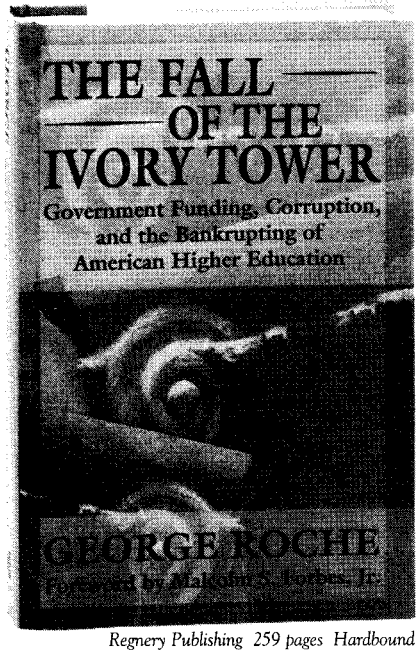
ON AUGUST 31 a headline on the front page of the *New York Times* reported: "13 Heroin Deaths Spark Wide Police Investigation." The article began: "They call it China Cat, an exotic name for a blend of heroin so pure it promised a perfect high, but instead killed thirteen people in five days." In less time than that, the story started to unravel.

On September 2, a brief article in the *Times*' B section announced: "Officials Lower Number of Deaths Related to Concentrated Heroin." By this time, published reports had attributed fourteen deaths to China Cat. But now the *Times* reported that "authorities yesterday lowered from fourteen to eight the number of deaths in the last week that the police believe are related to highly concentrated heroin." The medical examiner had discovered that "two of the fourteen men originally suspected of having died from taking the powerful heroin had actually died of natural causes. Four others died of overdoses of cocaine. . . . Of the eight whose deaths apparently did involve heroin, seven also had traces of cocaine in their system."

Thus, deaths that had been attributed to heroin overdose were now only "suspected" overdose deaths. Yet the *Times* felt no need to retract or apologize for its original report, simply attributing the overestimate to "authorities." Furthermore, six of the fourteen people (42 per cent) reported to have died of heroin overdoses had in fact not taken any heroin (two hadn't taken any drugs at all), while 92 per cent of the men who had died after taking drugs had taken cocaine, compared with 67 per cent who had taken heroin.

Given these facts, you might wonder how the "authorities" and the *Times* decided that so many men had died of China Cat. According to the second article, "the police said they found packets of China Cat, the street name of a

Mr. Peele, a psychologist specializing in addiction, is the 1994 recipient of the the Drug Policy Foundation's Alfred R. Lindesmith Award for Scholarship and Writing.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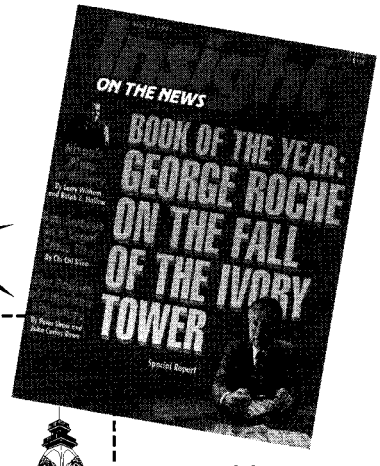

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powerful heroin blend, and a syringe" beside the body of *one* dead man. "They had no similar evidence connecting the China Cat brand to the other victims, but . . . they considered it probable that a purer blend of heroin was involved" (even with those who, it turned out, had taken no heroin).

Without Apology

THE CAVALIER attitude with which America's leading newspaper reported speculation and misinformation as fact illustrates the reluctance of the mainstream press to question negative statements about drugs, no matter how ill founded. When such statements turn out to be wrong, readers are not likely to see an apology or even an explicit correction. For many news outlets, reporting bad things about illegal substances is part of a moral mission aimed at discouraging drug use, a mission that makes truth secondary.

So it's not surprising that the *Times* continued to pursue the overdose story even after it had become clear that the scare had little basis in fact. A front-page article on September 4 reported: "At first, the police suspected that the men . . . had all died after using an extremely potent blend of heroin called China Cat. . . . Now the police and the New York City Medical Examiner, Dr. Charles Hirsch, say the men may have been victims of that brand or some similar, equally powerful blends of heroin. . . . But as one police officer put it: 'They're all still dead.' In the end, drug experts said, the brand name probably has little significance."

Maybe, but China Cat was central to the original article. Furthermore, six of the men had not taken heroin at all. And even for the ones who had, there was no evidence of *overdose*. Given the results from the blood tests, it is more plausible that the men died from a mix of drugs, including cocaine, alcohol, and perhaps other substances.

Indeed, researchers who have studied the issue closely are skeptical about reports of heroin "overdoses" in general. In the 1972 book *Licit and Illicit Drugs*, Edward M. Brecher summarized the evidence that led him to conclude that all or nearly all such deaths are in fact due to other causes. Based on experiments with animals, toxicologists estimate that it would take at least 500 milligrams of heroin to kill an adult human being who is *not* addicted to the drug; and studies of addicts find that they can typically tolerate as much as 1,800 milligrams over a two-and-a-half-hour period. In research conducted at Philadelphia's Jefferson Medical Center in the 1920s, addicts who were injected with up to nine times their ordinary daily dose suffered no ill effects.

The historical record also offers grounds for skepticism about heroin "overdoses." In New York City, before 1943 deaths among heroin addicts were rarely described as overdoses. Between 1943 and 1970, the percentage of addict deaths attributed to overdose climbed to about 80 per cent. Yet heroin purity was falling steadily during this period. In the 1920s addicts reported daily doses forty times as concentrated as the typical New York City daily dose in the 1970s.

Big-city coroners, Beecher noted, tend to record as overdose deaths any cases involving addicts (or, as in the *Times* story, men who *look* like addicts) where there is no other obvious cause of death. "A conscientious search of the United States medical literature throughout recent decades," he wrote, "has failed to turn up a single scientific paper reporting that heroin overdose, as established by . . . reasonable methods of determining overdose, is in fact a cause of death among American heroin addicts."

Brecher reviewed research by two prominent New York City medical examiners, Drs. Milton Helpern and Michael Baden, who examined New York City addict deaths in the 1960s. Helpern and Baden reported that the heroin found near the dead addicts was not unusually pure and that their body tissues did not show especially high concentrations of the drug. Although the addicts typically shot up in groups, only one addict at a time died. Furthermore, the dead addicts were experienced rather than novice users and therefore should have built up tolerance to large doses of heroin.

It is instructive to bear Brecher's points in mind while reading the recent articles in the *Times*. The third and most detailed article described the supposed heroin-overdose death of Gregory Ancona, the only case in which an eyewitness account was available. When Ancona and a date returned from a club to his apartment, he "was already staggering from the effects of cocaine and alcohol." While his date injected her heroin, Ancona snorted his. "Soon after, he nodded off and never woke up." The woman, meanwhile, "suffered no more than the usual effects of heroin."

From this account, it seems unlikely that Ancona died of an overdose. To begin with, men generally weigh more than women and show milder reactions to a given drug. Furthermore, he snorted the heroin, while his date injected it, getting more of the drug into her bloodstream more quickly. The probable cause of Ancona's death is the interaction of drug effects, particularly those of alcohol and heroin, which research suggests can be lethal.

IN THIS connection, careless reporting about heroin "overdoses" can have a perverse effect. If an addict believed that the real hazard was dosage, he might not recognize the dangers of combining drugs. In Ancona's case, he might have thought he was protecting himself from a heroin overdose by snorting the drug rather than injecting it. Moreover, Drs. Helpern and Baden concluded that impurities in heroin (particularly quinine) are more likely than the drug itself to be the culprit in addict deaths. If so, the most adulterated (impure) doses of heroin may be the most dangerous—exactly the opposite of the message communicated by the *Times*.

Like most of the mainstream press, the *Times* is blind to such unintended consequences, because of its own assumptions:

1. *Drugs are so bad that any negative claim about them is justified.* The *Times* will not be called to task for inaccuracy in reporting about drugs, as it might if it reported with similar credulity about crime or politics.

2. *Heroin is the worst drug.* On the face of it, the *Times* could have made a better case for the toxicity of cocaine based on the fourteen cited deaths, yet it chose to focus on heroin.

3. *Blaming drug deaths on overdose is important for propaganda purposes.* The press assumes that reports about purer heroin will deter drug use.

4. *Heroin use and addiction have shifted to the middle class.* The *Times* stressed that several of the dead men were middle-class.

These notions are both dubious and counterproductive. But you won't read about that in the *New York Times*. □

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The Islamic Threat, Part I

SAME DIFFERENCE

The struggle against fundamentalist Islam has revived the divisions of the Cold War.

DANIEL PIPES

THE Western confrontation with fundamentalist Islam has in some ways come to resemble the great ideological battle of the twentieth century, that between Marxism–Leninism and liberal democracy. Not only do Americans frame the discussion about Iran and Algeria much as they did the earlier one about the Soviet Union and China, but they also differ among themselves on the question of fundamentalist Islam roughly along the same lines as they did on the Cold War. Liberals say: Co-opt the radicals. Conservatives say: Confront them. As usual, the conservatives are right.

At first glance, how to deal with fundamentalist Islam appears to be a discussion unrelated to anything that has come before. Islam is a religion, not an ideology, so how can the U.S. Government formulate a policy toward it? A closer look reveals that while Islam is indeed a faith, its fundamentalist variant is a form of political ideology. Fundamentalists may be defined, most simply, as those Muslims who agree with the slogan: "Islam is the solution." When it comes to politics, they say that Islam has all the answers. The Malaysian leader Anwar Ibrahim spoke for fundamentalist Muslims everywhere when he asserted some years ago that "we are not socialist, we are not capitalist, we are Islamic." For the fundamentalists, Islam is primarily an "ism," a belief system about ordering power and wealth.

Much distinguishes fundamentalism from Islam as it was traditionally practiced, including its emphasis on public life (rather than faith and personal piety); its leadership by schoolteachers and engineers (rather than religious scholars); and its Westernized quality (e.g., whereas Muslims traditionally did not consider Friday a Sabbath, fundamentalists have turned it into precisely that, imitating the Jewish Saturday and Christian Sunday). In

Mr. Pipes is editor of the Middle East Quarterly, *a new journal, and author of three books on Islam and politics.*

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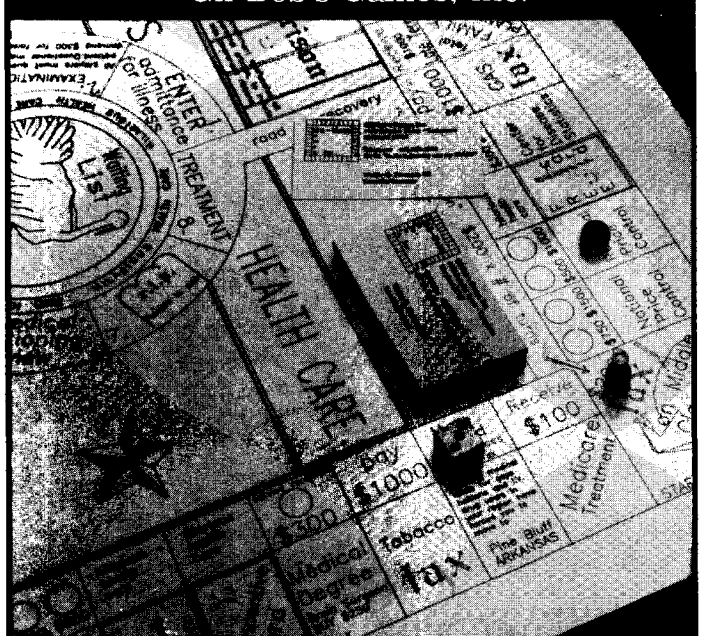

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brief, fundamentalism represents a thoroughly modern effort to come to terms with the challenges of modernization.

The great majority of Muslims disagree with the premises of fundamentalist Islam, and a small number do so vocally. A few, such as Salman Rushdie and Taslima Nasrin, have acquired global reputations, but most toil more obscurely. When a newly elected deputy to the Jordanian parliament last fall called fundamentalist Islam "one of the greatest dangers facing our society" and compared it to "a cancer" that "has to be surgically removed," she spoke for many Muslims.

Americans can in good conscience join them in criticizing fundamentalism. As an ideology, fundamentalist Islam can claim none of the sanctity that Islam the religion enjoys.

Battle Lines

IN responding to fundamentalist Islam, Americans tend, as I have suggested, to divide along familiar liberal and conservative lines. More striking yet, the same people hold roughly the same positions they held vis-à-vis that other quasi-religious ideology, Marxism–Leninism. A left-wing Democrat like George McGovern advocates a soft line, now as then. A right-wing Republican like Jesse Helms argues for a tough line, now as then. Consider the following parallels:

Causes. The Left, in keeping with its materialist outlook, sees Communist or fundamentalist Islamic ideology as a cover for some other motivation, probably an economic one. The Russian Revolution expressed deep-seated class grievances; fundamentalist violence in Algeria, the State Department tells us, expresses "frustration arising from political exclusion and economic misery." In contrast, the Right sees radical utopian ideology as a powerful force in itself, not just as an expression of socio-economic woes. Ideas and ambitions count at least as much as the price of wheat; visions of a new order

Tourists and Terrorists

JUST when Egypt appeared to be getting its economic house in order, Islamic extremists are trying to burn it down.

Last year terrorist teams fired on trains carrying tourists near the perpetually nervous university town of Assiyut. In December, three terrorists burst out of a coffee shop in Old Cairo and fired on a passing busload of tourists, wounding eight passengers and eight Egyptians who came to their defense. The Gama'a Al-Islamiya, a radical organization, has distributed flyers in recent months warning all foreigners to leave or face the consequences.

The danger to tourists is no greater in Egypt than in many other places. But as one Miami hotelier explained that city's sharp drop in tourism in late 1993, "Most folks like to vacation where they can sleep with both eyes closed, and, thanks to exaggerated news reports, they just don't feel that comfortable here these days."

Tourist arrivals in Egypt are off by more than 50 per cent and revenue by as much as 80 per cent. The tourism industry, formerly booming along at $3 billion a year, is the source of one million jobs, supporting more than six million Egyptians. So the acts of a few extremists have directly cut into the incomes of 15 per cent of the population, and the overall negative impact on the economy touches everyone.

The terrorists have been causing trouble beyond their numbers—a good guess would be that there are only about 5,000 of them. They draw support from Egyptian veterans who volunteered to fight Afghanistan's Soviet-supported regime during the 1980s. Trained in eastern Iran by religious revolutionaries, the "Afghans" eventually returned home to a recessionary economy. Unemployed malcontents eager to support a new cause, many of them were attracted by the fire-breathing rhetoric of religious zealots.

For years government policy toward the radicals has alternated between pious speeches and overly harsh repressive measures. But the government's latest crackdown on terrorism resulted in at least one significant victory, when Talat Yassin Hammam, commander of the military wing of Gama'a Al-Islamiya and a veteran of Afghanistan, was cornered and killed on April 25.

So far, the expatriate community is mainly standing firm. As one veteran of the Nasser years puts it, "We thought Egypt was worth it during the worst of the socialist and secret-police years. Well, it is much more viable today. We just have to be reasonably cautious."

A resident of six years notes a benefit of the tourism downturn: "Cairo's terrible traffic congestion is greatly dissipated, but what a terrible price the Egyptians are paying."

Donald McDonald, president of the 4,500-student American University in Cairo, empathizes with the Egyptian man in the street and argues that the terrorists are hurting their own cause. "When the terrorists attacked the minister of the interior last August, a few meters from where we are sitting, they damaged their own image more than anything else," he says. "The suicide motorcyclist succeeded in wounding the minister, killing himself, and murdering two innocent bystanders."

Many observers believe the government has not done enough to turn public opinion against the extremists. The impact of the decline in tourism, for example, has not been discussed in the press or on television. And the ongoing connection between the Egyptian extremists and Iran has not been exposed. "If it were," says a frustrated Koranic scholar, "the people would be disgusted because of their negative attitudes toward the Shiite revisionism that Iran embraces."

McDonald is moderately hopeful. "I plan to continue to do what is necessary to run the school," he says. "I don't want to be foolish, or mean to sound macho. If our students are any guide, however, the Egyptians will see through the extremists. They understand the issues, they want to see the country succeed, and they want to get on with their lives."

—JOHN R. THOMSON

Mr. Thomson develops international business between the Americas and the Middle and Far East as president of Strategic Partners, Inc.

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go far toward accounting for the revolutions of 1917 and 1979.

Solutions. If misery causes radicalism, as the Left argues, then the antidote lies in economic growth and social equity. The West can help in these areas through aid, trade, and open lines of communication. But if, as the Right believes, ambitious intellectuals are the problem, then they must be battled and defeated. In both cases, liberals look to cooperation, conservatives to confrontation.

The West's responsibility. The Left sees Western hostility as a leading reason why things have gone wrong. According to one journalist, the West "made its own sizable contribution" to the current crisis in Algeria. It's the old "blame America first" attitude: just as Americans were responsible for every Soviet trespass from the Gulag to the arms race, so they are now answerable for the appearance of the Ayatollah Khomeini (due to U.S. support for the Shah) and for the many Arab fundamentalist movements (due to U.S. support for Israel). The Right adamantly denies Western culpability in both cases, for that would absolve tyrants of their crimes. We made mistakes, to be sure, but that's because we find it hard to contend with radical utopian movements. Along these lines, Arnold Beichman argues that "we are at the beginning of what promises to be a long war in which new moral complexities . . . will present themselves as once they did in the days of Soviet Communism."

A single source. When the State Department disclaims "monolithic international control being exercised over the various Islamic movements," it uses almost the same words it once used to speak of Marxism–Leninism. For decades, American "progressives" insisted that Communist organizations around the world had indigenous sources and did not owe anything to Moscow (a claim easier to make so long as Moscow's archives remained closed). To which conservatives typically replied: Of course there's no "monolithic international control," but there is an awful lot of funding and influence. Teheran administers a network akin to an Islamist Comintern, making its role today not that different from Moscow's then.

The antis. For many decades, the Left saw those Russians, Chinese, and Cubans whose firsthand experience

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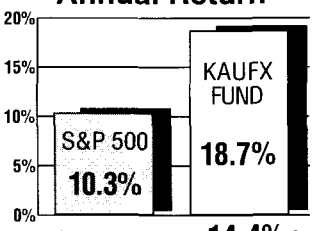

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turned them into anti-Communists as marginal elements. In similar fashion, the Left today looks at anti-fundamentalist Muslims as inauthentic. Churches are among the worst offenders here. For example, in one recent analysis, a German priest presented the extremist element as the Muslim community per se. The Right wholeheartedly celebrates the new antis, like the old, as brave individuals bringing advance word of the terrors that result from efforts radically to remake society.

Do moderates exist? The Left distinguishes between those ideologues willing to work within the system (deemed acceptable) and those who rely on violence and sabotage (deemed unacceptable). The Right acknowledges differences in tactics but perceives no major difference in goals. Accordingly, it tends to lump most Communists or fundamentalists together.

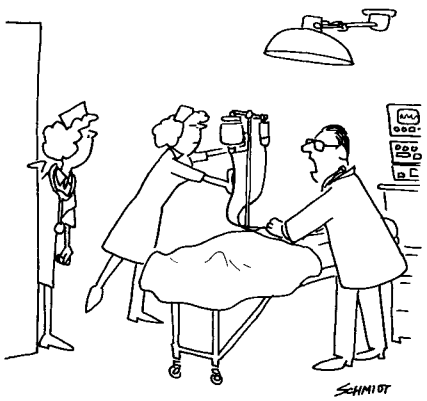
Motives. When the other side strikes out aggressively, the Left often excuses its acts by explaining how they are defensive. Invasions by Napoleon and Hitler explain the Soviet presence in Angola; a legacy of colonial oppression accounts for the depths of fundamentalist rage. The Right concludes from events like the downing of a Korean Airlines flight or the World Trade Center bombing that the other side has offensive intentions, and it listens to no excuses.

Fighting words. The two sides draw contrary conclusions from aggressive speech. Liberals dismiss the barrage of threats against the West (Muslim prisoner in a French court: "We Muslims should kill every last one of you [Westerners]") as mere rhetoric. Conservatives listen carefully and conclude that the West needs to protect itself (French Interior Minister Charles Pasqua: fundamentalist groups "represent a threat to us").

Threat to the West. If they are approached with respect, says the Left, Marxist–Leninists and fundamentalist Muslims will leave us alone. Don't treat them as enemies and they won't hurt us. The Right disagrees, holding that all revolutionaries, no matter what their particular outlook (Communist, Fascist, fundamentalist), are deeply anti-Western and invariably target the West. Their weaponry ranges from ICBMs to truck bombs, but their purpose is the same: to challenge the predominance of modern, Western civilization.

And if truck bombs are less threatening than missiles, it should be noted that fundamentalists challenge the West more profoundly than Communists did and do. The latter disagree with our politics but not with our whole view of the world (how could they, as they pay homage to Dead White Males like Marx and Engels?). In contrast, fundamentalist Muslims despise our whole way of life, including the way we dress, mate, and pray. They admire little more than our military and medical technologies. To appease Communists means changing the political and economic spheres; to appease fundamentalists would mean forcing women to wear the veil, scuttling nearly every form of diversion, and overhauling the judicial system.

Future prospects. In the 1950s, the Left portrayed Marxism–Leninism as the wave of the future; today, it ascribes the same brilliant prospect to fundamentalist Islam. In other words, these radical ideologies are an unstoppable force; stand in their way, and you'll not only get run over, you might even spur them on. But conservatives see utopianism enjoying only a temporary surge. The effort to remake mankind, they say, cannot work; like Communism, fundamentalism has to end up in the dustbin of history.



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Conciliation or Containment?

SUMMING up, the Left is more sanguine than the Right about both Communism and fundamentalist Islam. It's hard to imagine a conservative calling the Ayatollah Khomeini "some kind of saint," as did Jimmy Carter's ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young. It's about as uncommon to hear a liberal warning, along with France's Defense Minister François Léotard, that "Islamic nationalism in its terrorist version is as dangerous today as National Socialism was in the past." On the scholarly level, a liberal Democrat like John Esposito publishes a book titled *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, in which he concludes that the threat is but a myth. In sharp contrast, Walter McDougall, the Pulitzer Prize–winning historian and sometime assistant to Richard Nixon, sees Russia helping the West in "holding the frontier of Christendom against its common enemy," the Muslim world.

These contrary analyses lead, naturally, to very different prescriptions for U.S. policy. The Left believes that dialogue with the other side, whether Communists or fundamentalist Muslims, has several advantages: it helps us understand their legitimate concerns, signals that we mean them no harm, and reduces mutual hostility. Beyond dialogue, the West can show good will by reducing or even eliminating our military capabilities. Roughly speaking, this is the Clinton Administration's position. In Algeria, for instance, the Administration hopes to defuse a potential explosion by urging the regime to bring in fundamentalist leaders who reject terrorism, thereby isolating the violent extremists.

The Right has little use for dialogue and unilateral disarmament. Communists and fundamentalists being invariably hostile to us, we should show not empathy but resolve, not good will but will power. And what better way to display these intentions than with armed strength? Now as then, conservatives think in terms of containment and rollback. For conservatives, Algeria's regime fits into the tradition of friendly tyrants—states where the rulers treat their own population badly but help the United States fend off a radical ideology. It makes sense to stand by Algiers (or Cairo), just as it earlier made sense to stick by Ky in Saigon or Pinochet in Chile.

Of course, the schemas presented here do not align perfectly. The Reagan Administration searched for "moderates" in Iran (an effort led by none other than Oliver North), and the Bush Administration enunciated a soft policy toward fundamentalism. The Clinton Administration, in contrast, has

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pursued a quite resolute policy toward Iran.

Interests sometimes count for more than ideology. Circumstance on occasion compels the U.S. Government to aid one enemy against another; thus, we have recently helped fundamentalist Afghans against Communist ones, and Communist Palestinians against fundamentalist ones. The liberal Clinton Administration speaks out against a crackdown on fundamentalists in Algeria, where the stakes are low for Americans, but accepts tough measures in Egypt, where the United States has substantial interests. The conservative French government bemoans the crackdown in Egypt (not so important for it) but encourages tough measures in Algeria (very important).

Still, the basic pattern is clear. And as the lines of debate sort themselves out, the two sides are likely to stick more consistently to their characteristic positions. This suggests that while Marxism–Leninism and fundamentalist Islam are very different phenomena, Westerners respond in similar ways to ideological challenges.

They do so because of a profound divide in outlook. American liberals believe that mankind is by nature peaceful and cooperative; when confronted with aggression and violence, they tend to assume it is motivated by a just cause, such as socio-economic deprivation or exploitation by foreigners. Anger cannot be false, especially if accompanied by high-minded goals. Less naïvely, conservatives know the evil that lurks in men's hearts. They understand the important roles of fanaticism and hatred. Just because an ideology has utopian aims does not mean that its adherents have lofty motives or generous ambitions.

The Left's soft approach to fundamentalist Islam predominates in Washington, and in the universities, the churches, and the media. Indeed, to recall one of the Left's favorite phrases, it has become the hegemonic discourse in the United States. On the other side stand nothing but a handful of scholars, some commentators and politicians, and the great common sense of the American people. Americans know an opponent when they see him, and they are not fooled by the Left's fancy arguments. That common sense prevailed in the Cold War and no doubt will suffice yet again to overcome the follies of the New Class. □

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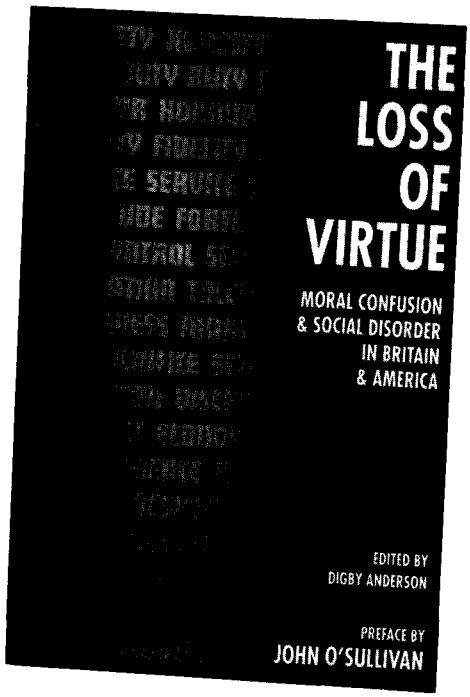
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The Islamic Threat, Part II

MULLAH MOOLA

The U.S. is trying to maintain a firm policy toward Iran, but European loans and trade are undermining it.

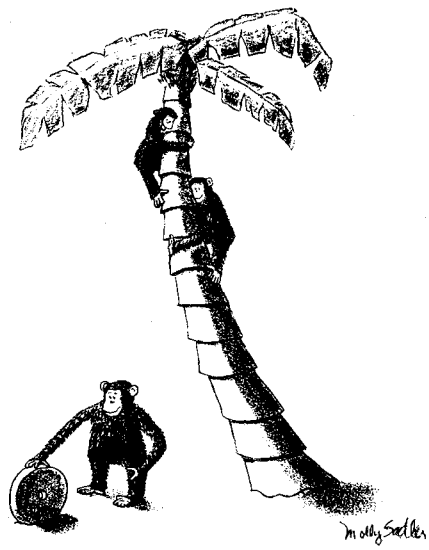
PETER W. RODMAN

AMID all the brickbats the Clinton Administration is receiving for its foreign policy, it deserves credit when it gets something right. Its policy toward Iran and Iraq is a case in point.

In notable contrast to its three predecessors, the Clinton Administration seems so far to have no illusions about the nasty intentions of either Iran or Iraq. It has resisted the temptation to chase after supposed "moderates" in either regime. "Containment," in the sense of firm resistance to their encroachments, is the line of the day (as we've just seen in the case of Iraq).

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, not usually known as a hardliner, put forward an important initiative on June 9, 1993, at a meeting of European Community foreign ministers in Luxembourg. Christopher singled out Iran as the "most worrisome" of a number of "dangerous states" fueling regional tensions. He appealed to the Europeans to join us in a policy of firm containment and economic pressure on Iran, including denial of militarily useful technologies. In parallel with this microeconomic pressure, the U.S. has tried to build macroeconomic pressure: for the last year it has been striving mightily to block the rescheduling of Iran's external debt.

Iran is some $30 billion in hock, and much of this was short-term debt coming due this year. With the recent softness of oil prices, Iran was in a severe financial bind, which the U.S. saw as a heaven-sent restraint on its military build-up and foreign ambitions. Multilateral rescheduling in the Paris Club was blocked, as was World Bank lending. But in February, ignoring U.S. pressure and bending Paris Club rules, Germany reached a bilateral accord



"Morris insists it has significance."

with Iran to stretch out some $2.7 billion in short-term debt. Nine Japanese banks followed suit in March, rescheduling another $2 billion. Deals were then struck with Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Overall, about $10 billion has been or is being rescheduled this year, which Iran has naturally trumpeted as a great victory over the Americans.

The Europeans explained to the Administration that most of their short-term loans to Iran were government-guaranteed, so default would have meant taking a massive budgetary hit. They assured us that no new loans would be made, but the rescheduling went ahead. Meanwhile, Japan in 1993 had pledged a half-billion-dollar development loan for a hydroelectric project in Iran; the U.S. has so far managed to delay disbursement but not to gain cancelation of the loan. In the wake of the European reschedulings, the World Bank is under pressure to resume lending to Iran.

The Administration's rare display of strategic insight stems mostly from its deepening concern about Iran's gradual but inexorable expansion of both its conventional and nuclear capabilities, including the purchase of submarines from Russia and the attempted purchase of missiles from North Korea. The U.S. Navy is not amused by the prospect of Iranian subs in the Gulf. The CIA estimates that Iran could have a nuclear weapon in six to eight years if it gets the needed technology; the next few years, when Iran will be desperately seeking that technology, will be the critical time: if it gets what it needs, our ability to block its nuclear progress will rapidly diminish. Hence Mr. Christopher's sense of urgency. The U.S. Central Command's 1994 *Posture Statement* identifies Iran in no uncertain terms as "the single greatest threat to peace and stability in the Central Region."

Assessing Iran

THE U.S. sees Iran as a revolutionary regime still in its militant phase, its hostility to us grounded in a baldly anti-Western ideology and manifested daily in its external actions. Iran's internal situation is harder to assess. President Rafsanjani is commonly said to represent a "moderate" trend since Khomeini's death in 1989. But whatever "moderation" or ferment there may be in Iran's internal politics, foreign policy still seems to be the plaything of the radicals. This is apparent not only in the military build-up but in the bullying of Gulf neighbors over territorial disputes, the open mobilization against the Arab–Israeli peace process, the continuing death threat against Salman Rushdie, and the active organization of subversion and terrorism.

CIA Director James Woolsey calls Iran "the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism." Iran's intimate connection with Hezbollah in Lebanon is well known; the Sudan has become a nest of Iranian agitation against Egypt and the rest of North Africa. Three Iranians were arrested in Bangkok on

Mr. Rodman, an NR *senior editor, is the author of* More Precious than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World, *forthcoming from Scribner's.*

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charges of planting a ton of explosives in March outside the Israeli Embassy. The British government charged last April that the Iranians were linked to terrorist groups as far afield as the IRA and the Japanese Red Army. Bomb attacks last July in Buenos Aires and London and against a commuter plane in Panama have all been linked to Iran. This is not moderation.

The Europeans have a different attitude from the Americans toward this pattern of Iranian behavior. After Mr. Christopher's initiative in June 1993, a U.S.–EC working group chewed on the issue for several months. Then, on September 28, 1993, at a news conference in New York, EC Commissioner Hans van den Broek and Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes announced the formal EC reply: a polite brush-off. Instead of following the U.S. approach of containing Iran, the Europeans would continue their strategy of a "critical dialogue"—meaning that they would occasionally urge Iran to behave itself but that the expansion of normal political and economic ties would continue. (Similarly, Japan's development loan was, in theory, conditioned on Iran's good conduct.) But these countries' trade with Iran is increasing, notwithstanding Iran's abominable international behavior. Germany's exports to Iran in 1993 were about $6 billion. Japan's exports have been about $3 billion a year, Italy's $2 billion, and Britain's $1 billion.

Germany has been Iran's foremost trading partner. The Germans evidently relish their special role in Iran, possibly out of some residual historical/geopolitical reflex, perhaps especially because they can fill a vacuum left by the United States. The German–Iranian connection goes beyond trade. In October 1993, the Germans played host to Teheran's minister of intelligence and security, Ali Fallahian-Khuzestani, whose ministry is the successor to SAVAK and is widely suspected of masterminding Iran's international operations. When U.S. protests were leaked to the press, the Germans sniped back. Bernd Schmidbauer, Helmut Kohl's principal advisor on intelligence matters (and the Iranian's host), responded snidely on television: "Many are condemning us from remarkable positions. They lie and cheat their way around the fact that they have also held talks with Iran." This outburst presumably referred to the sleepy and unproductive U.S.–Iranian technical talks at The Hague on blocked assets. Europeans also like to point to the growing U.S. trade with Iran (now over $3 billion a year), though so far it's mostly purchases of oil, not exports of technology.

According to the *Jerusalem Report*, the Europeans' soft line is the result of Iranian blackmail—of promises to spare the Europeans future terrorist outrages if economic relations continue. Our Western allies say they believe Iran's behavior can be moderated by dialogue and economic relations. Needless to say, it's a convenient philosophy when Europe is hungry for exports and jobs. The American view is that Iran's intentions are fundamentally hostile and that its economic strength will translate ultimately into a strategic menace. The debate is a replay of the debate over trade with Brezhnev's USSR. There were many then who thought that Brezhnev's eagerness for our money was somehow proof of his benign intentions; in truth, it reflected mainly his eagerness to get the West to finance his war machine.

The conventional wisdom in academ-

(Continued on page 84)

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THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

October 3, 1994

Dear Rusty,

Greetings from Tippichoquit, Alaska! I'm here making a campaign swing through our nation's largest state. It's great to be back on the campaign trail again, let me tell you. You can get a bad case of cabin fever just staying in the District.

I'm out here stumping for Gus Kelly, who if I have anything to say about it is going to be the next Tri-County Land-Use Commissioner (Fourth District)! After that, we head south to El Centro, California, where Democrat John Daniels has a good shot to beat Republican Jim Lion in the big-stakes City Assessor race. Then on to Idaho, for the Trout Fisheries Manager's bout, winding up the three-day whistle-stop tour in American Samoa, where the Territorial Assembly race is a must-win for us Dems.

Take that, Gingrich! That's what I say!

It was like pulling teeth just to get this campaign plane on its way, let me tell you. A couple of days ago, over breakfast, I was talking to Tipper.

"Tipper, I'm hitting the campaign trail! I don't care if it's not popular! I don't care if they say Bill is a failed President! I don't care about 1996!" I shouted.

She looked up from the Washington Times. "Eat your Müeslix, Al," she said.

"But—"

Tipper held up her hand. I dug into my Müeslix.

"Al," she said sweetly, "let's review the career of Walter Mondale, shall we?"

This is her little way of telling me to lie low.

Of course, the minute I read about the latest Oliver North for Senate campaign commercial, I knew it was time for me to get back in the arena. I made a statement to the press condemning North for condemning Robb. Mission accomplished, I thought. Robb called the next day to thank me.

"Thanks, Al, for all of your help and support," he said.

"Any time, Chuck."

There was a moment of silence on the phone. "Gee, Al, this is awkward," Robb began, "but I need to know if you expect to be helping us again any time soon. This is a pretty tight race, you see—"

"Say no more, Chuck. I understand perfectly. I'll be in Virginia first thing tomorrow."

There was another long silence on the phone. "Al? We'll call you, okay?"

"Promise? Don't be shy, now. Hussein has backed down, Aristide is on his own, so I'm just sitting up here twiddling my thumbs, ready to spread some of that vice presidential prestige around!" I chuckled.

"We'll call you, okay?"

Later that day I called Dr. Gergen on the phone.

"Doc," I said, "what are we going to do about these mid-term elections? No one seems to want to have me stump for them, and that can't be good news."

Dr. Gergen didn't answer for a while.

"You know, Al," he finally said, "campaigns really aren't my area of expertise."

"But you've run two of the most successful campaigns of all time! You worked for Mike Deaver and Jim Baker!" I cried.

"That was so very long ago," he replied. "Besides, I've transitioned into foreign policy. That's my new bailiwick. In fact, now that Aristide is safely back in Haiti I can let you in on a little secret: the whole Haiti strategy was mine. I thought up the whole thing."

"You did?"

"I did. Spread the word."

"But what about a little campaign help?" I asked.

"I'll call you," Dr. Gergen said. And he hung up.

I made one last-ditch effort. I called Tony Coelho, the man in charge of coordinating Democratic strategy. His answering machine referred me to another number, in London.

"Tony, we're three weeks away from the election. What are you doing in London?"

"I'm getting a suit made, silly. It's my fourth fitting. What? My life should go on hold just because Kathleen Brown has forgotten why she wants to be governor of California? Gimme a break!"

"But I thought you were coordinating strategy."

"Al, Al, Al. Can I call you Al?"

"You are calling me Al."

"Right. Al, listen to me. What happens when the circus leaves town?"

"We lose a lot of topsoil and the fairground is littered with trash?"

"Besides that."

"They fold up their tents?"

"Exactly. They fold up their tents. Al, fold up your tent."

"You sound like Tipper."

"Al, listen to Tipper."

And with that, he hung up.

Well, let me tell you something, Rusty. I am not about to fold up my tent. On to El Centro!

Your pal, Al

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Culture Maven

JACOB COHEN

OFFERING instruction from examples culled from the whole range of human history, in a prose magisterially discursive and confident, Thomas Sowell has produced a book that will compel every careful reader, and not just those on the Left, to rethink their most confident views on matters of race and culture. Even where he does not command assent, Mr. Sowell provokes gratitude, if only for the opportunity to resist. Of how many books can one say nearly as much?

"Culture," not "race," is the basal notion here. Indeed the title of his book is a bit misleading, for Mr. Sowell sees "race" not as a rival or parallel concept but entirely under the aspect of "culture," as he defines it. It is primarily "culture"—including the "culture" of self-styled and socially styled "races"—he says, that most fundamentally explains the ubiqitous fact that some groups—and the individuals of which they are composed—are decisively more capable and effective than others in performing "the vital economic activities" that, to Mr. Sowell, are the soul of civilization.

Race and Culture: A World View, by Thomas Sowell (Basic, 352 pp., $25)

In societies composed of multiple cultures, he argues, the general level of prosperity has everywhere and always depended on the superior functioning or cultural influence of peoples who come sometimes as conquerors—as the Romans did to England—but also as migrants—Scots, Chinese, Japanese, Italians, Germans, Jews—and succeed in mastering the material challenges of their alien situation better than the natives, often overcoming scorn, persecution, and hostile public policy in the bargain. He offers even the case of enslaved groups whose skills surfaced and flowered because they—the slaves and their skills—proved to be indispensable and irreplaceable. And he offers, as well, copious examples of groups around the world and throughout history which with equal or superior "opportunities" pale in comparison to the culturally superior minorities in their midst, when economic competency is taken as the standard. When these minorities leave, he shows with pointed examples from contemporary Africa but also several from distant times, the abandoned societies decline. It is hard to imagine a more sweeping argument for the proposition that in the ultimate historical analysis, peoples are decidedly unequal, and equal economic results cannot be engineered without serious detriment to general prosperity.

Bonnie Gardner

Clearly, Mr. Sowell's definition of "culture" is special and quite narrow. He attends singularly to a culture's ability to secrete values, aptitudes, and traits of character that, he argues and richly illustrates, everywhere and always have led to material triumph: hard work, rationality, talents for organization and abstract conceptualization, the propensity to save, educability which includes an openness to the lessons of superior "cultures," an attitude toward life void of collective self-pity, undaunted by challenges and the need for personal sacrifice. Other aspects of "culture," as that term is conventionally understood, are typically presented here as subversive of those material-centered virtues: fixations on cultural "identity," ethnocentrisms, jingoisms, prides and pieties of nearly every sort (except the pieties of the free market), status obsessions, merely traditional ceremonies and rituals.

In a startling discussion of nineteenth-century Western imperialism, he argues that it was driven not by sound rational economic logic but by cultural obsessions and for that reason proved transitory in contrast to other of history's grand imperialisms. Similarly, he argues that racial segregation in this country would have been far less severe, though never eliminated, if the rational logic of the market, and not, as was too frequently the case, cultural obsessions about race, had been the source of the discrimination. He is particularly contemptuous of the culture of politicians and bureaucrats, especially those trained in the "soft" liberal arts, which he says, over and again, have little to contribute to economic performance. Clearly, for all his respect for "culture" as a primary contributor to the wealth of nations, many of the peoples he offers for emulation here are not representative of rounded, deeply rooted cultures—most aspects of which Mr. Sowell disdains as counterproductive—but cultural cosmopolites who take economic instruction well, overcome spiritual distractions, and are capable of abandoning their home culture when they meet one that is demonstrably superior. Indeed, some of the most competent examples that Mr. Sowell presents, for admiration and presumably emulation, seem to be not the most thoroughly acculturated of peoples, but the least.

Nonetheless, his central contentions—that culture, or aspects of it, explains individual performance and that human performance, "cultural capital" as he terms it, is a major factor behind the wealth of nations—can withstand these reservations, and from them cultural relativists, egalitarians, legislative quick-fixers, and would-be totali-

Mr. Cohen is a professor of American Studies at Brandeis University.

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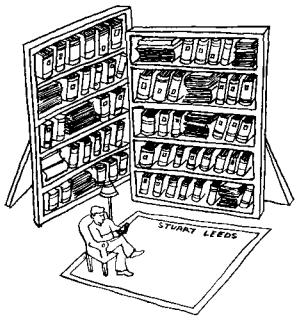
tarian social engineers will recoil. Material progress, sheer worldly competency and potency, Mr. Sowell eloquently argues, are universal and unambiguous standards against which all peoples may be measured, and should be, for these are matters of paramount human consequence. And when these measurements are made and compared, many peoples will be found irreducibly wanting. Most "stereotypes," Mr. Sowell unflinchingly submits, are valid—not all (he certainly does not deny the presence of irrational bigotry), but most—and because the realities that provoke these stereotypes are deeply rooted in cultural habit, they cannot quickly be conjured away by environmental tinkering or linguistic deconstructions.



But it is not only the shibboleths of the Left that are challenged by this book. Economic individualists on the Right will need to rethink their confidence that individual effort by gifted individuals of character is sufficient explanation for economic performance. Defenders of various canons against the multiculturalists will note that Mr. Sowell's opposition to cultural relativism applies only to material matters, and that when it comes to High Culture, he is decidedly relativistic, resisting no profitable cultural development, no matter how crass or debasing of higher values.

Most crucially, those on the Right who today are again proposing genetic explanations for historical outcomes will find in these pages the most comprehensive and effective refutation of the necessity for and sufficiency of genetic explanations that this reader has ever encountered. Against the genetic determinists Mr. Sowell presents three arguments based on "culture": 1) he offers rich examples of genetically identical or similar peoples, including many current groups with dramatically different levels of material performance; 2) he offers examples of once highly effective and dominant peoples who, notwithstanding the continuity of their gene pools, became ineffectual pariahs, and of once ineffectual peoples who, over the long historical haul, triumphed, having internalized superior cultural influences; and 3) he shows how the absolute level of performance of culturally unprepossessing groups can improve from generation to generation, or even decline, an outcome that can only be explained by the influence of new cultural factors.

Mr. Sowell is clearly interested in the genetic data, and open to persuasion on this score; he takes IQ and other mental tests seriously, and does not, like many cultural determinists, try to finesse the discouraging data revealed by those instruments. But his general rhetorical strategy is to show that for all the intents and purposes of historical analysis, genetic explanations are unnecessary because culture sufficiently explains all that needs to be explained in human differentials. Furthermore, he suggests that the genes/culture dispute can never be finally resolved because the impact of genes on performance can only be directly observed through their cultural manifestations, and the idea of culture is sufficient in explaining its own manifestations.

Sometimes "culture" can seem as rigidly deterministic and inequalitarian as do the genetic explanations now in ascent. But as suggested above, this is a somewhat narrowed view of culture which allows for an escape from culture into economic rationality. While Mr. Sowell is no glib meliorist, the rhetoric here seems to hold out more hope than does that of the geneticists for the possible reversals of historic fortune which could result if only culturally impaired peoples would open themselves to correct but difficult advice and pay the considerable psychological price that change exacts: Shun the politics and psychoses of victimization, that advice would run. Accept, if not personal, then at least, less punishing, cultural responsibility for your failures and then shed the dysfunctional parts of your cultural selves. Open yourselves to cosmopolitan influences of proven material potency. Reject the false multicultural comforters who praise and preserve your cultural incapacities and reinforce them.

In a brilliant final chapter, where he suddenly adds geographical explanations to his cultural ones, applying them particularly to Africa, a tiny note of consolation and inspiration enters. Though he claims only to be describing and not prescribing, he cannot entirely eliminate overtones of exhortation. And the reader cannot help but find reasons to hope for a better world, culturally and racially, in this grimly realistic assessment. □

A View from the Fence

LINO A. GRAGLIA

HARVARD law professor Mary Ann Glendon's *A Nation under Lawyers* comes with a blurb from Cass Sunstein, one of the nation's most liberal law professors, praising its "moderation" and "compassion" and noting that Professor Glendon "defies categorization as a 'liberal' or 'conservative.' " This is not a good omen. As is usually the case with people who attract that description, she earns the accolade of "moderate" by, it turns out, pandering to liberal convention and mythology and hedging her conservative-sounding arguments almost to the point of retraction. She defies political categorization because she typically seeks to have things both ways.

The book's three main sections deal with practicing lawyers, judges, and law professors. Although Professor Glendon complains of the "bland platitudes spouted by most professional leaders today," her discussion of law practice, like most of the rest of the book, is little more than a collection of bland platitudes. She speaks, for example, of the need to "shore up the moral courage of individual practitioners," as if stating a useful prescription

A Nation under Lawyers: How the Crisis in the Legal Profession Is Transforming American Society, by Mary Ann Glendon (Farrar, Straus, 331 pp., $24)

Mr. Graglia is the A. Dalton Cross Professor of Law at the University of Texas School of Law.

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for action, and reminds us that it is "service to others that is the true distinguishing mark of our profession." Many lawyers, especially women, we learn, are unsatisfied with their choice of a career. But this was likely always so (except that until recently there were few women lawyers).

As much as Professor Glendon may deplore it, it will necessarily remain the fact that much in the practice of law does not sit well with ethical fastidiousness—fame and fortune do not lie in springing the innocent. Michael Jackson's lawyer was just doing his job when he recently told us that the payment of millions to Mr. Jackson's accuser in a case of alleged sexual molestation had no relation to the accuser's decision not to press charges. It seems entirely pointless to complain that "it has become acceptable for prominent lawyers to admit an interest in making money—a lot of money," and little short of silly to express dismay that many corporate lawyers "seem far more concerned to satisfy the company managers who hire and fire lawyers than to protect the interests of scattered shareholder-owners."

As an example of a lawyer who "represented ideals of advocacy" Professor Glendon selects, astoundingly, Thurgood Marshall—"a legal strategist," she quotes another admirer, "far-seeing to the point of genius." Marshall's "basic legal creed" was a color-blind Constitution, she reports, apparently unaware that he spent his time on the Supreme Court arguing for busing and racial preferences. It is doubtful that any lawyer's career depended more than Marshall's on the "manipulation and misstatement of facts and law" that Mary Ann Glendon deplores. In *Brown*, the cornerstone of his career, he notoriously manipulated and misstated both the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment and the evidence about the effects of school segregation.

Turning to the judiciary, Professor Glendon is accurate and effective in describing the arrogance displayed by Justices Kennedy, O'Connor, and Souter in their joint opinion in *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey*, the 1992 abortion decision. The opinion, she points out, announces the Court's "authority to 'speak before all others' for the 'constitutional ideals' of Americans. The people, for their part, were to be 'tested' by following the Court's articulation of their ideals," which "would likely strike the average layperson as more than a little presumptuous." She is mistaken, however, in thinking that the situation was very different in *Brown*, in which, she says, the justices "called the nation to take up the challenge of a color-blind Constitution." The difficulty with this is that there was no color-blind Constitution, since the Fourteenth Amendment was not intended to prohibit school segregation. If the basis of *Brown* really was "the equal protection language of the Fourteenth Amendment," as Professor Glendon argues, it is difficult to understand how the Court (in *Bolling* v. *Sharpe*) was able on the same day to prohibit segregation in the District of Columbia—to which, since it is not a state, the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply.

The problem, again, is that Professor Glendon cannot have it both ways. If we accept her argument that the Court was authorized to "exercise statesmanship" to deal with "pressing social problems" in *Brown* and the one-man, one-vote cases, we have no basis for charging the justices with abuse of office when they undertake to solve what they see as other pressing problems.

Finally, Professor Glendon criticizes the law schools for allegedly moving from the teaching of law to the teaching of social science. Not entirely consistently, however, she thinks that law schools should teach "long-range planning" and "creative problem-solving," hardly traditional law school subjects. She also believes we have recently "witnessed an extraordinary flowering of serious scholarship, with the most important advances attributable to collaborative interdisciplinary and empirical work"—which is to say, to social science. Her typically mushy suggested solution is that law schools make "students aware of the rich web of habits and understandings surrounding the stories of the extraordinarily diverse individuals who are part of the common-law tradition."

The problem with law schools, in my opinion, is not that they do not teach law—there is far too much of it for very much to be taught—but that, like the rest of academia, they primarily teach liberalism: more law, rights, coercion, and government as the solution to all problems. The difficulty, as Mary Ann Glendon nicely puts it at one point, is that the law professors are united by

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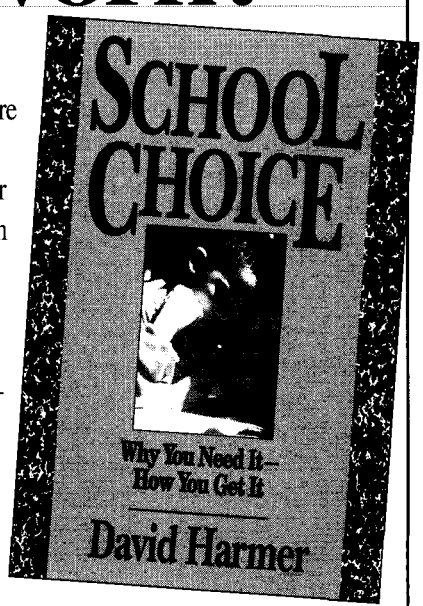

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"knowledge-class disdain for bourgeois values and ordinary politics." The most likely solution to the problems of law school teaching, not mentioned by her, is to have less of it, to shorten law school from three to two or even one year. If law schools are not to teach law, they can at least do it in less time.

The true source of most of the current problems in our legal and political systems is that our law is made largely by lawyers, and the more and the worse the law, the better it is for lawyers. Lots of bad law will necessarily result. Professor Glendon's belief that the problem "is not the amount so much as the quality of the new law that is being produced" is perverse. We do not need a higher-quality Americans with Disabilities Act, for example, or a better-drafted 1991 Civil Rights Act. The country would be unambiguously better off, as Professor Richard Epstein—who does not defy categorization—has argued, if all such laws were simply repealed. □

Guernica and Other Myths

BRIAN CROZIER

THERE ARE good points to this biography of the Spanish dictator. It is well written, packed with interesting details, and, while it does not give its subject due credit for his achievements, it does bring the man and his family to life. More is the pity that the author, although a professional historian, avoided writing a genuine history, which might have interfered with some of his adverse judgments.

Here is one such judgment. Twenty-one years ago, *NR* ran a seven-page cover story under the title "Getting at the Guernica Myth." In an earlier issue, Jeffrey Hart had written an article entitled "The Great Guernica Fraud." Yet as treated in this immense tome, the myth and fraud of Franco as a murderer of innocent noncombatants re-emerge, intact.

Franco: A Biography, by Paul Preston (Basic, 1,056 pp., $37.50)

The author, Paul Preston, professor of International History at the London School of Economics, writes: "That Guernica was destroyed by explosive and incendiary bombs dropped from aircraft of the Condor Legion piloted by Germans is no longer open to any dispute. Moreover, there can no longer be any doubt that the atrocity was carried out at the behest of the Nationalist high command [i.e., Franco], and not on the initiative of the Germans."

Wrong, O Professor! The dispute will continue so long as those who ought to know better by now go on perpetuating the myth. When living in Madrid in 1966–67 while writing my own "biographical history" of General Franco, I was alerted to the possibility that this particular atrocity was unlikely to have been carried out by the Nazis, for the secret archives of the German foreign ministry recorded surprise and indignation at the charges.

Back in London, I received a visit from Sir Archibald James, a World War I airman and former British member of Parliament who had been in Guernica shortly after the attack, went over the whole area, and concluded that its (partial) destruction could not have been caused by air bombardment. There were two main reasons for his conclusion. One was that the small town of Guernica consisted of four quadrangles, three of which had been burned to ashes, whereas the remaining one was intact. Given the state of bombing technology in 1937, there was no way this could have been done from the air. The other point was that the surviving quadrangle contained the Tree of Guernica, the Basque Council Chamber, and the Church of Santa María la Antigua. The Nazis had no particular interest in preserving these relics of the Basque heritage; the retreating Basque Republicans did.

On a motoring holiday in Spain shortly before the *NR* cover story, I deviated to Guernica to see for myself. The historic quadrangle was as history had left it; the three residential quadrangles had been totally rebuilt. It is worth adding that the myth of Guernica originated in a telegram to the *Times* of London from its war correspondent George Steer, who had not reached Guernica when he wrote it.

I do not believe I am maligning the author when I say that he appears to have set out to damn Franco by systematically opting for the worst interpretation of any event open to alternative analyses.

Also important is the question of Franco's attitude toward Jews. Perhaps rightly, Mr. Preston dismisses the fact that Franco and Bahamonde (the General's matronymic) were common Jewish surnames in Spain as "idle speculation that his family was Jewish." One wonders why such speculation should be idle, but let that pass: Spain expelled its Jews in 1492, and those left behind had opted for Catholicism. Franco was not a Jew in the accustomed sense.

But more significantly, while quoting anti-Jewish passages in Franco's speeches (clearly designed to ingratiate himself with Hitler), Mr. Preston omits to mention that Franco offered Spanish citizenship to Sephardic Jews and allowed as many as 40,000 Jews to cross Spain to safety in Spanish North Africa. Words, it would appear, are more important than deeds.

Let it not be thought that I am out to whiten Franco. My estimate of Franco's reprisals on his erstwhile Republican foes was of 200,000 executions. The Spanish authorities contested this figure, citing 40,000 as authentic. Perhaps legitimately, Mr. Preston avoids figures.

Some other mysteries remain unresolved. For instance, was Franco responsible for the disappearance of the repatriated families of Spanish Republicans transferred by Pétain's Vichy regime to the Nazi concentration camp of Mauthausen after the German invasion of France in 1940? Mr. Preston does not consider this vexed question; neither did I, for my attention was drawn to it only recently.

More omissions: The author (rightly) dwells on the Nationalist massacres in Malaga and other atrocities on the Franco side, but glosses over similar atrocities on the Republican side. He has nothing to say about the Communist-instigated persecution of the Trotskyist POUM (*Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista*). While dwelling at length on Franco's supposedly obsessive anti-Communism, he does not bother to mention the important fact

Mr. Crozier, a longtime NR *contributing editor, is the author of* Franco: A Biographical History.

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that the Republican premier Juan Negrín shipped $500 million worth of Spanish gold to Moscow, where Stalin reigned. He mentions only the outrage of the Republican Colonel Segismundo Casado "that Negrín and the Communists talked of resistance to the bitter end while simultaneously arranging to get funds out of Spain." *Nota bene:* "out of Spain," not "into Stalin's hands."

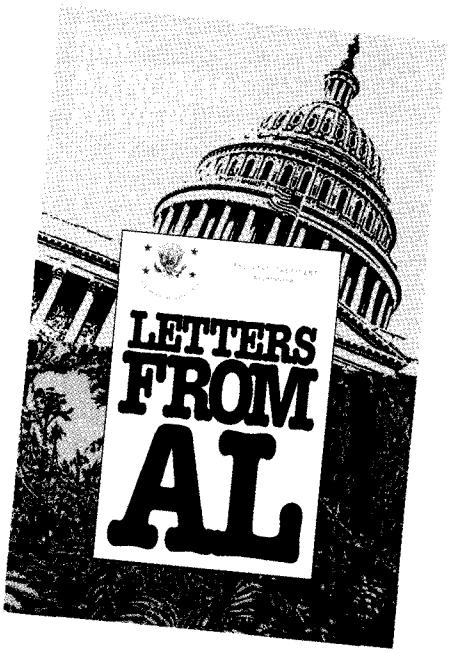
In his prologue, Professor Preston offers what in effect is an opt-out clause: "Unlike many books on Franco, [this] is not a history of twentieth-century Spain nor an analysis of every aspect of his dictatorship, but rather a close study of the man." My own view is that a study of the man could be done in one chapter, but that in a work of more than a thousand pages, it would surely have been possible to consider some of the facts the author omits.

One of the main points I discovered about Franco's approach to the exercise of power was that he was the least ideological of the twentieth-century dictators. He was ruled by emotional principles and loyalties: to the fatherland and order; God and the Catholic Church; the family. Another way of putting it is that he was a pragmatist (if one is being nice to him) or a political opportunist (if one is being nasty). He accepted military aid from Hitler and Mussolini because he could see no other way of achieving victory in the civil war. Within a few weeks of that victory, he said good-bye to both the German and the Italian contingents. They had served their purpose.

Was he a fascist? Only so long as it suited him. He merged the Spanish version of a fascist party, the Falange (which, unlike the Italian and German models, was pro-Church), with other pro-Nationalist groups: the monarchists and the syndicalist trade unions. In time, he applied to the resulting coalition a single word: the *Movimiento*. Contrary to widely received wisdom, the *Movimiento* was not a single ruling party but a device to avoid having a ruling party. So bitter were the original Falangists at being dropped from the equation that by the time we left Spain in 1967, they had become virtually a persecuted minority. They clashed with the police at their meetings and plastered the walls with angry slogans.

Himself no economist, Franco initially left it to the "Old Shirts"

The Only Possible Reason for "Four More Years"



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(*camisas viejas:* the original Falangists) to run the country on corporatist lines. When they duly made a mess of it (stagnation, wasted manpower, etc.), he fired the lot of them and brought in a team of young and intelligent technocrats from the Catholic lay order Opus Dei. The most gifted of them was Laureano López Rodó, whom he appointed Technical Secretary-General.

This was in 1957. Over the next two years, two teams of experts were brought in, one from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and the other from the International Monetary Fund. What followed was Thatcherism/Reaganism before its time. There was an initially strong dose of credit squeeze and cuts in government spending, followed within two years by soaring industrial output (up 11 per cent in 1961), booming investment, and retail trade expansion. A spectacular tourist boom contributed to prosperity.

In 1962, the World Bank was called in. Franco dropped the remaining Falangist mediocrities and promoted López Rodó, in effect, to economic boss. The Spanish economy took off.

At this point, I again take issue with Paul Preston. In his description of the events just mentioned, he argues that henceforth Franco would be a mere figurehead, with all major decisions left to López Rodó, the new commerce minister, Ullastres Calvo, and Franco's *éminence grise*, Admiral Carrero Blanco. This seems to amount to blaming Franco for his nasty early accomplices *and* for appointing better ones. After all, the technocrats could not have launched the Spanish economic miracle unless Franco had put them in charge in the first place.

When I first went to Spain professionally, in 1955 (for *The Economist*), it was a poor, dull, backward country and the dissidents I spoke to looked over their shoulders in case somebody was listening. This was still the *dictadura*. By the time I went there with my family in 1966, it had turned into a *dictablanda:* still dull, but crime-free and relatively prosperous. The press was still censored, and boring in consequence.

Franco's biggest failure was posthumous. He had hoped to perpetuate his regime under his new, Franquist Constitution, the "Organic Law of the State." Unlike General de Gaulle's Fifth Republic, which survived him, the Organic Law collapsed within months, and the remarkable Prince Juan Carlos ushered in a democracy: vibrant, no longer dull, with soaring prostitution, street crime, and (not least) an international drugs center.

In sum, the West owes a great deal to Franco. He saved Spain from a takeover by Stalinist Communists who, in fact, had taken over the Republic during the civil war. He declined, in fact if not verbally, to join the war on Hitler's side, apart from the token participation of the Falangist Blue Division in the German invasion of the USSR. He denied Hitler access to Gibraltar, thereby depriving him of control over the Straits, which might well have lost North Africa to the Germans. He launched Spain on its way to economic expansion. He failed, however, to grasp the fact that the authoritarian state he had created could not survive economic freedom: a negative plus in the final reckoning. None of this emerges, except grudgingly and by deduction, from this monumental work. □

The Pill

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

USUALLY WHEN a book is published by an obscure author and subsequently judged to be bad, it is allowed to pass unmolested by critics through its brief stay on book-store shelves, after which it travels to the book crematoria to be recycled. Elizabeth Wurtzel's excellent first book—a memoir of depression called *Prozac Nation*—might have ended up unnoticed except as kleenex. But an odd thing happened.

You've never heard of Miss Wurtzel. She is 27 and looks, in her back-flap photo, like a more zaftig version of Kate Moss. She worked briefly as a rock critic for *The New Yorker* and *New York* magazine, but apart from that was perfectly obscure. Nevertheless, around September 1, the nation's great news publications began lining up to execute her by journalistic firing squad. *The New York Times Book Review*, *Newsweek*, her former employers at *New York*, *The Village Voice*—each deployed a prominent review devoted to trashing Miss Wurtzel's book in the nastiest and most personal terms available: "it's pain . . . often seems fake," "long moan," "sorrowful arias," "exaggerated," "almost unbearable," "grandiose self-pity," "singular self-absorption," "self-obsessed case study"—and that's just *New York* magazine.

Prozac Nation: A Memoir, by Elizabeth Wurtzel (Houghton Mifflin, 317 pp., $19.95)

What really is bothering these guys, with their impressive ability to come up with one synonym after another for egotism?

Of course there is something inherently egotistical about a 27-year-old writing her memoirs. However, until she began taking the antidepressant Prozac, Miss Wurtzel's life really was about as harrowing as it could be—given that she is a middle-class New Yorker who went to private schools, then Harvard, followed by a succession of apparently effortless swings upward from plumb newspaper job to plumb magazine job to plumb book contract.

Is depression "bigger than a breadbox?" Miss Wurtzel wants to know, "smaller than an armoire?" As described here, her own bout with the condition strikes around the onset of puberty. At a posh summer camp, she intentionally overdoses on allergy medicine. From there on, "black waves" of depression pursue her. At lunch time in intermediate school, she retreats to the girls' locker room, amusing herself by drawing lines of blood from her legs with a razor blade:

> I did not, you see, want to kill myself. Not at that time, anyway. But I wanted to know that if need be, if the desperation got so terribly bad, I could inflict harm on my body. . . . I tried out different shapes—squares, triangles, pentagons, even an awkwardly carved heart, with a stab wound at its center, wanting to see if it hurt the way a real broken heart could hurt. I was amazed and pleased to find that it didn't.

In college, Miss Wurtzel is consumed by thoughts of suicide. One day she enthusiastically describes to her psychiatrist how, in her frequent fantasies,

Mr. Klinghoffer is NR*'s literary editor.*

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she would take her own life: "I would get into a steaming hot bath in the dark, because in the dark you can't see what you are doing to yourself so you can't get scared and you can't scream, and I would slash my wrists and maybe a couple of arteries." The doctor, alarmed, insists they drive over right that minute to the college infirmary—where Miss Wurtzel has already spent many nights under the influence of depressive symptoms. The girl agrees, but before leaving she locks herself in the bathroom and stuffs her mouth with Mellaril tablets, a powerful sedative—in a suicide attempt which eventually fails when Miss Wurtzel's digestive system rebels on its own initiative, making the old stomach-pump cure unnecessary.

Is Miss Wurtzel self-obsessed? Fifty years ago, if you were an unhappy young writer like she is—and you wanted to publicize your views about your city, your country, yourself as a representative citizen of either—you would write a novel. Today, you write your memoirs. We are used to new writers writing intensely about themselves, so the objection to her egotism doesn't stand up.

A woman very much of her times, attempting to get at the meaning of clinical depression both to herself and to the young Americans among whom it is the characteristic mental disturbance in the way neurasthenia was among affluent Victorians, Elizabeth Wurtzel has told her story in devastatingly clear prose, whose self-deprecating wit undercuts any danger that she'll annoy the hell out of us by telling too damn much about herself. So perhaps, more than any "grandiose self-pity," it is Miss Wurtzel's views that are the cause of all that hostility. For what goes unreported in the attack reviews is that *Prozac Nation* is less about Prozac than it is about another contemporary phenomenon: divorce.

Miss Wurtzel's parents split up two decades ago, but she still describes the event with a sadness that can break your heart. Visiting with her father and his new live-in girlfriend, Miss Wurtzel recalls (in italics, I'm not sure why): "*when it was time for me to go to sleep, I would make my father leave [his] shoes, rusty brown half boots, in the hallway outside my bedroom door. I wanted them to be there so I could look out and know he was still there. It was like I knew he was planning to disappear on me*"—which he eventually did.

It's Miss Wurtzel's presentation of divorce, not Prozac, that explains the reaction to *Prozac Nation.* You will note that all the criticism has come out of the leading organs of the New Class—the opinion-making cadre of the "cultural elite." From the perspective of New Class orthodoxy, it's fine to write about divorce. What you cannot do is point a finger at the chest of parents with children and announce: get divorced, and your children could suffer *this.*

Miss Wurtzel finds the depressing consequences of divorce everywhere, but especially in the new rules governing love, sex, contraception, pregnancy: "It is no surprise that a generation of children of divorce has grown into a world of extended adolescence in which so many of them have slept with one another and remained friends, have put the conflicts of sundered relationships aside for the sake of maintaining a coherent life. Divorce has taught us how to sleep with friends, sleep with enemies, and then act like it's all pefectly normal in the morning." This—the essential cheapness of sexual relationships in the decades after the Summer of Love—is definitely forbidden ground, which Miss Wurtzel explores throughout these two hundred pages that are ostensibly about herself.

The (other) Pill? She skewers the coldly pragmatic view of many men in a conversation with her father—her *father*—recalled from high-school days. After his daughter tells him of a visit to Planned Parenthood, Mr. Wurtzel's words of caring parental wisdom are: "I'm glad you're being so responsible."

Abortion? As a college sophomore, she discovers she is pregnant when, one morning, she wakes up to find blood all over her sheets. A miscarriage. Hours later she overhears a doctor remark casually, "She's a very lucky girl. Now she won't have to have an abortion." At which—the coolness, the cruelty—Miss Wurtzel is rightly horrified: "I'd sooner kill myself. I'd have sooner killed the doctor standing over me smiling knowingly when she didn't know a thing."

Divorce in this memoir stands for the dissolution of all types of human bonds and interlocking responsibilities.

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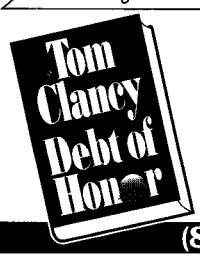

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In the lives of most people, marriage is the one existential decision we are given to make. Until recently, a man engaged to be wed made a leap of faith into the near-certainty that he would remain in the relationship until either he or his spouse was dead. Today, with children or not, one remains in a marriage until it ceases to suit you. As Miss Wurtzel sees it, if we want to explain the prevalence of depression—and the popularity of Prozac—that fact is highly relevant: "*Sometimes*," she writes, in italics again,

> *I think that I was forced to withdraw into depression because it was the only rightful protest I could throw in the face of a world that said it was all right for people to come and go as they please, that there were simply no real obligations left. . . . My father had a child that he didn't have too much trouble walking away from; it seems only natural that so many of us have pregnancies that we can abandon even more easily. After a while, meaning and implication detach themselves from everything. If one can be a father and assume no obligations, it follows that one can be a boyfriend and do nothing at all. . . . Pretty soon it seems unreasonable to be bothered or outraged by much of anything because, well, what did you expect? In a world where the core social unit—the family—is so dispensable, how much can anything else mean?*
>
> *There is a chill as I think of the way being deprived of normal feelings has the paradoxical effect of turning me into an emotional wreck. As Russian writer Aleksandr Kuprin put it: "Do you understand, gentlemen, that all the horror is in just this: that there is no horror!"*

Young Americans are depressed and hooked on Prozac today, in other words, because other Americans had a blast twenty years ago. It is an enticing, if unprovable, theory.

What is clear is that Elizabeth Wurtzel has written an indictment, oblique but powerfully affecting because so deeply personal, of the sexual revolution and all it entails: the morality that imposes no obligations except to be outraged when somebody else suggests there may be obligations. That morality is the foundation stone of all New Class thought on social matters. No wonder the news publications took offense.

Actually, that needs a qualifier. If Miss Wurtzel were someone other than who she is—a young woman who wears black and lives in a loft, whose New Class credentials (New York City, Harvard, slick media jobs galore) are in exemplary order—she could be safely ignored. But she goes out of her way to assure her hip, urban readers that she belongs to their world, their family—with ritual, incantatory references to "the greedy Eighties" and "Reaganomics," the assurance that she too "marched on Washington" for abortion rights—not realizing that this will only inflame her liberal critics.

Highly orthodox societies work in similar ways. Like the Spanish Inquisition—which reserved its bonfires not for unbelievers but for professing Christians, who sometimes insisted on their orthodoxy to the very end—the New Class finds that heresy stings most when it comes from within. Of course our present-day inquisitors can't kill you, but they can torch your career. That's what is happening to Elizabeth Wurtzel, whose cries of "greedy Eighties!" and "march on Washington!" can't save her as she's led off to be burned. □

FILM

Too Sweet, Too Sour

JOHN SIMON

THERE ARE two very sad things about the romantic comedy ***Only You***: there is no romance in it, and there is no comedy. Meant to be a lighthearted love story against a picturesque backdrop, with two charming people clearly destined for each other having to surmount hilarious obstacles from without and within until they can finally land in an exultant clinch, *Only You* does indeed meet two of the requirements: the picturesque backgrounds and the concluding clinch. Aside from that, catastrophe.

Europe steadily, and America intermittently, used to manage this sort of thing with consummate aplomb. Now the Europeans seem no longer interested, and the Americans have lost the knack: *Sleepless in Seattle* is about as good as such things get here, and not all its insomnia could rouse the dormant genre from its lethargy. *Only You* may put it to such sleep as no Prince Charming could kiss awake.

This first-time screenplay by Diane Drake concerns Faith Corwatch, to whom at age 11 the Ouija board spells out the name of the one man in the world for her: Damon Bradley. A fortune teller, not long thereafter, confirms it: Damon Bradley, whoever he is, is it. Faith grows up with perfect faith in her Damon, but no such creature occurs. Now she is about to marry an innocuous, wimpy podiatrist, Dwayne, and settle into typical Pittsburgh domesticity, such as that of her sister-in-law, Kate, who suspects Larry, the father of her three children and owner of a small roofing business, of adultery. As Faith is trying on her wedding gown, the phone rings: a friend of Dwayne's regrets that he won't be able to attend the wedding. As she jots down his name, Faith gives a double, if not quadruple, take: her moving fingers have writ "Damon Bradley."

So far, so good. Bradley says he is calling from the airport on his way to Venice. Faith throws a coat over her wedding gown and taxis to the airport, but is not allowed on the plane. She calls Kate to bring her some clothes and her passport *subito*, and, *presto magico*, both are on the next flight to Italy, Kate only too glad to get away for a bit from Larry's presumptive infidelity. With that departure for Venice, things start getting seriously wrong. Even romance and whimsy need some connection to reality. But if Faith is as charming as we are to believe her to be, why would she marry a drip like Dwayne? And why is the supposedly equally charming Kate married to Larry, as boorish a fellow as ever had a roof under his feet? How do these women come by enough money and leisure to just take off for Italy, stay at the best hotels, wear the most expensive clothes immaculately emerging from little overnight bags, and, despite total monolingual provincialism, get around Italy well enough? I am willing to suspend my disbelief up to a point: past it, I become more inclined to hang the screenwriter.

What happens in Venice, Rome, Positano, and San Gimignano is appalling:

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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witless, crudely contrived, blatantly preposterous, and desperately sweaty under the collar—and I am not referring to the canicular Italian climate. Furthermore, anything of the remotest interest here feebly echoes *Summertime* (1955), an incomparably better film, with David Lean for co-writer and director, and starring Katharine Hepburn and Rossano Brazzi. That one had the realities of life intrude gently on the romance. In *Only You*, all is gooey: no sex is ever consummated; Kate's Larry doesn't really cheat on her, and comes to fetch her in Positano; everyone ends up with the right person, except for the dorky Dwayne, but then, that serves him right. Lacking is the slightest trace of charm.

The casting isn't romantic. Marisa Tomei is a passable comedienne, but she has long since exhausted her bag of tricks, and her butch haircut puts the lid on whatever slender physical appeal she might have. The heroine of such a film need not be a beauty (think of Jean Arthur, Irene Dunne, and the rest), but she has to be winning. Miss Tomei, I'm afraid, comes across homely and simple-minded, which works neither for romance nor for screwball comedy, which requires some sophistication. Opposite her is Robert Downey Jr., not a bad actor, but one cursed or blessed with the kind of face that refuses to grow up (Matthew Broderick is such another), and not to be taken seriously as a romantic lead. Bonnie Hunt, as Kate, is better, and has the comedic skills required for the traditional role of the heroine's wry, wisecracking sidekick, even if the script provides scant assistance. For the role of the suave Italian to romance her, we get Joaquim De Almeida. He is a good actor and, for a Portuguese, manages the Italian stuff quite convincingly; but he is not handsome the way Rossano Brazzi was in *Summertime*. The rest, including Fisher Stevens as Larry, don't matter much, but meet the uninspired demands made of them.

To add to the crudeness, there is, on top of Rachel Portman's agreeable original music, one of those marketable soundtrack potpourris, including everything from "O sole mio" to the "Hallelujah Chorus." No stinting on production values, though. There are the gorgeous gowns of Milena Canonero, the opulent production design of Luciana Arrighi, and the almost painfully beautiful cinematography of Sven Nykvist, surpassing even that of the capable Jack Hildyard for *Summertime*. All the Italian locations look superb, with the cunningly used filters all but painting the lily, and Positano shot as a many-layered cake good enough to eat. An irresistible travelogue, in short.

What helps scuttle the movie is its director and co-producer, Norman Jewison. This tasteless purveyor of plastic entertainments has inherited the mantle of such hacks as Jean Negulesco (*Three Coins in the Fountain*, also featuring Rossano Brazzi), and makes sure that everything looks lush and lavish while the story remains pinchbeck, with nothing to disturb the most proper and primitive audiences. That in the most grossly derivative scene the characters actually mention *Roman Holiday* (1953, and vastly superior) does not make this universal knockoff any more acceptable. Diane Drake and Norman Jewison may have enjoyed their paid holiday in Italy, but what's in it for us? They dangle the beauties of Italy before the spectators like a centerfold in a girlie magazine, with a Hugh Hefnerish sneer enjoining the masses to stretch their hands, and eat their hearts, out.

■ As prison films go, ***The Shawshank Redemption*** is one of the more unredeemed ones; it is no *In the Name of the Father*, let alone *Un Condamné à mort s'est échappé*. The title of the Stephen King novella on which it is based is "Rita Hayworth and the Shawshank Redemption," which is longer but not better. It concerns a respectable young Maine banker, Andy Dufresne, sentenced to life without reprieve for the murder of his wife, which he did not commit. He is sent to Shawshank, a prison compared to which Devil's Island was a Palm Beach luxury hotel. Here he experiences the most satanic warden and guards, as well as fellow prisoners who, except for a few rotten apples, are a swell bunch, especially Red, the prison fixer and

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philosopher, who once in his youth rashly killed, but is now as good as gold. Yet the evil warden and stupid parole board see to it that he can't get out ever, which he takes with a stoicism worthy of Marcus Aurelius. Andy and Red become fast friends, each learning much from the other, until they end up living the life of Reilly in Mexico. I mention Reilly because when asked why they call him Red, he, a black man, replies, "I guess because I'm Irish." There you have the humor of it.

Before our guys hit Mexico, however, 19 years have to pass for them, and not much less for us. We are treated to 148 minutes of shock effects and didactics. Frank Darabont's screenplay and direction pile up the horrors rather too liberally (in both senses of the word), while not being particularly sparing with the homilies. Some horror is, of course, unavoidable (male rape, confinement in solitary, beatings), and a few platitudinous pieties may be inevitable, too. But you wonder when, on top of this, the warden is a Bible-thumping sadist and the head guard a beast out of Hell, whether there isn't somewhere, buried in the profusion of credits, a billed dice-loader. Or perhaps the fact that Mr. Darabont, whose directorial debut this is, graduated from writing the likes of *A Nightmare on Elm Street 3* and *The Fly II* qualifies him as both Stygian helmsman and loader of cast-iron dice.

Great performances might help. Morgan Freeman, as Red, is fine as always, but hampered by the limitations of his role. Tim Robbins is a curious choice for a New England banker and Brahmin of imperturbable grit and wit, but he has his moments. As the warden, Bob Gunton belongs in the blackest of melodramas, and Clancy Brown, as the head guard, should head straight for Grand Guignol. James Whitmore is saddled with the unlikely role of a sweet old prison librarian who, when finally let out, finds freedom too hard to bear and hangs himself. There, again, you have the humor of it.

I don't know how much of this is Frank Darabont, how much Stephen King. But if I am to spend two-and-a-half hours with someone plumbing the depths of the human heart, I doubt that I would pick either of them. Best here is Roger Deakins's cinematography, which aptly lets the blue-grey of prison uniforms permeate the very air. Still, a heavy diet of slate blue can give anyone the blues. □

LOOKING BACK

"Van Doren" and "Redford"

JEFFREY HART

"HOW," I asked Charles Van Doren, "could you possibly have named all the Aleutian Islands?" We were at lunch in the Columbia Faculty Club on Morningside Drive. That might not actually have been the question, but at least the type of question. A typical Charles answer was: "When I was a child, one of my hobbies was geography [or astronomy, or genealogy], and I have a good memory." Well, maybe so.

The point to bear in mind is that in Charles's Columbia environment—students and colleagues alike—Charles's quiz-show fame on *Twenty-One* was not very important. It is exactly here that I think the roots of Charles's tragicomedy lie, and not in the wholly suppositious notion of "parricide" advanced by the Robert Redford movie *Quiz Show*

His students and colleagues respected Charles as an excellent young English professor, and his colleagues liked him. He and I were both specializing in eighteenth-century literature, though he was senior to me. Charles was writing a good book on the poet William Cowper. So, as I say, from a Columbia perspective the quiz show was not important. Knowing the names of the Aleutian Islands was not important. Such things were a stunt—essentially disconnected and trivial information. Out there, under the dark skies of the Republic, millions of people might think that Charles was an intellectual and an "egghead." We regarded him as a very able professor who had a peculiar gift, and we thought it rather fun that he had broken the bank at Monte Carlo.

What was important at Columbia was chiseled on the frieze of Butler Library: Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Montaigne, Voltaire, Milton. A key Columbia ideal was "critical intelligence," and the ability to master intellectual connections. Charles scored very well on both counts. What mattered was Columbia and its faculty. Imagine the English Department where Charles and I were junior members: Mark Van Doren taught alongside Lionel Trilling, F. W. Dupee, Joseph Wood Krutch, Quentin Anderson, Richard Chase. That was a world. That was important.

Robert Redford's opinion, which he heightened in the script submitted to him, was that Charles sought out the crooked world of TV and the quiz show because he sought revenge of some sort on his father's Olympian status. This strikes me as completely gratuitous. I saw no evidence of hostility between them, but rather an easy and thorough friendliness.

Of course Mark Van Doren was a towering presence. But Mr. Redford depicts his students as regarding him with polite boredom. Where Mr. Redford got such a notion remains a puzzle. A young Robert Redford might have thus regarded him, but not his actual Columbia students. (It is amusing that Mr. Redford's 1956 "Columbia" is co-ed. This allows him to show young women hopping up and down and "Charles" as a sex symbol, an Egghead Elvis, which is nonsensical.)

The real students thought of Mark Van Doren as an electrifying if understated classroom professor. He used no notes. He would open a book and begin dealing with a particular passage. His mode was conversational. Often, he would single out an individual student and draw him into the conversation. He sometimes stayed with such a student through much of the hour, drawing out thoughts the student himself had not dreamed he had.

Mr. Redford's version of him is genteel and somewhat febrile. Oh, no. The last time I saw the real Van Doren was during the spring of 1963, when he was close to retirement. I sat in my office in Hamilton Hall. Enjoying the spring warmth, a pigeon flew to my window sill, then jumped into my office and strolled on my carpet. Mark appeared at the door, in his floppy felt

Mr. Hart is an NR *senior editor and the author of* Acts of Recovery.

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hat, and regarded the bird. "St. Francis," he said, and smiled. That was the closest I am likely ever to get to sainthood. As one watches Mr. Redford's movie, the gap between the real Mark Van Doren and the "Mark Van Doren" of the movie becomes a chasm.

Watching "Mark Van Doren" in *Quiz Show*, I began to see that Mr. Redford himself, unlike the Columbia students of the time, quite possibly thinks the real Mark Van Doren was . . . *boring*, that the real Columbia was snobbish and boring. I began to see that the real Robert Redford actually belongs to the ersatz world of *Twenty-One*.

The nausea increases. Just as Mark becomes "Mark" and Columbia becomes "Columbia," so Charles Van Doren becomes "Charles." The process of distortion and falsification becomes so insistent that the two producers, Robert Redford of *Quiz Show* and Dan Enright, the producer of *Twenty-One*, begin to come into focus as a single producer, and the thought arises that maybe Mr. Redford knows that this is so. Both Robert Redford and Dan Enright—"Redford" and "Enright"?—smile knowingly and plead "artistic license." I note here that testimony to the movie's deceptions have begun to pour in beyond anything I can provide myself. Thus the daughter-in-law of Edward Kletter, director of advertising for the maker of Geritol (sponsor of *Twenty-One*), has stated publicly that he did not in any way resemble the character played in the movie by Martin Scorcese, and did not know about the fraud: "I do not want the Robert Redford movie to become the 'textbook' on this period. I don't want the granddaughters of Edward Kletter to be ashamed of their grandfather."

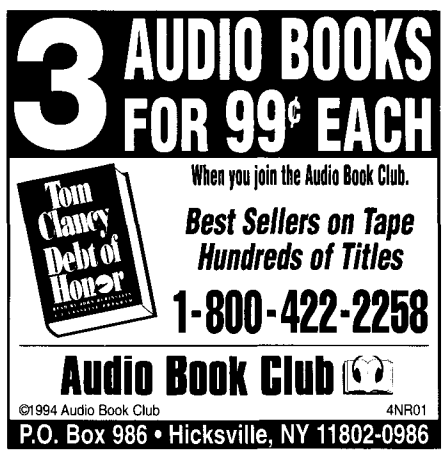
As I've said, I differ from Mr. Redford in my opinion of the roots of the real Charles's mini-catastrophe. My guess is that the real Charles tried out for the thing entirely as a lark, much as a group of young professors might go slumming at Atlantic City or seek out a really awful saloon—great because so awful—downtown somewhere. I think the real Charles initially got a kick out of the NBC zoo and its antics, and naïvely—he never struck me as very worldly—found himself way in over his head.

Charles and maybe even Enright seem to have been naïve enough to think that a conspiracy so vast as this quiz show could really remain secret. Of course someone would blow the whistle. Charles should have jumped ship early on by answering Babe Ruth instead of Ty Cobb and gone back to Cowper. Instead, when the unserious world of pop TV suddenly blew sky-high, things became serious for Charles at Columbia. Drowning in his imposture, he had lied to his chairman and to the Columbia administration.

Mr. Redford seems to think that he is on to matters of profound significance in his movie, and he does nibble around the edges of them. He has told an interviewer that the movie is about the tension between "ethics and capitalism." Well, ahem. There is always tension between individual ethics and any organized group—the military, the church, a university, a society. The theme Mr. Redford wanted to express, but has failed to do, is the fictive nature of modernity. Money (capitalism) allows for much self-invention. The question then becomes whether and how the invented self can approach authenticity. Of course the adventures of the self under circumstances of freedom can be marvelous or awful, or both at the same time.

Quiz Show tries to be a parable about deception, but all art is deception, and the issue is one of the quality of the deception. Mr. Redford himself is up to his ears in deception of a low kind. Though the characters have real names, *Quiz Show* falsifies history throughout. Chronology is twisted. The movie ends with a series of brief prose passages intended to give the future history of the main characters, as in *Chariots of Fire*. But Mr. Redford falsifies history even here. The klunky Herb Stemple, Charles's opponent on *Twenty-One*, did not end in pathos and complete futility, as the film implies. He taught social studies for years in the New York school system. The real Charles did work for an encyclopedia, but Mr. Redford leaves out that he taught, wrote good books, and published good anthologies. Mr. Redford fakes their histories in order to give the movie a downbeat coda.

Does Mr. Redford, the moralizer, suspect that he *is* "Dan Enright"? He is a major capitalist, and his movie company is not a commune. Is there tension between *his* ethics and "capitalism"? He grew up in Santa Monica, but today he presents himself as a Man of the West, in tight jeans and plaid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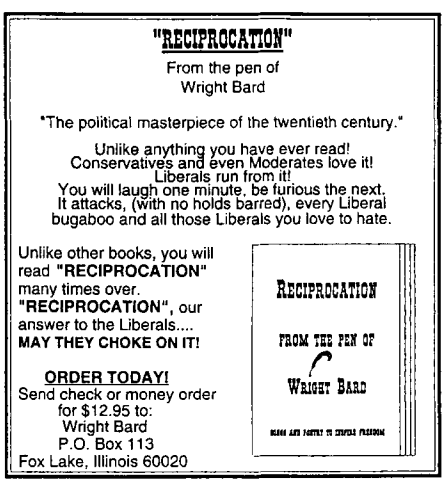
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shirt. His office in Radio City, where he spends a great deal of time, is decorated in fake adobe. He seems to pride himself on his ideas, but they are crude, the ideas of a Beverly Hills virtue monger. The more you think about him, the more you think about Dan Enright. □

ART

Vital Records

JAMES GARDNER

WHEN THE enemies of abstraction, often referred to as the Philistines, think of Crazy Modern Painting, the kind a six-year-old could make, the kind created by hirsute, semi-naked beatniks intoning mantras and pitching buckets of pigment at a wall, they are envisaging the works of Cy Twombly. Mr. Twombly's art, currently enjoying full-dress treatment at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, is part of a long modernist tradition—including Van Gogh, Klee, and Pollock—that rebels against the glinty, digitalized accuracy of modern times by courting randomness and spontaneity of the "everything but the kitchen sink" variety.

Art critics have never quite known what to make of Mr. Twombly. Though always appreciated—despite curator Kirk Varnedoe's predictable efforts to romanticize him as an outcast—Mr. Twombly seems to have missed every stylistic boat that came his way. Too jazzy and allusive to be a true partner in the New York School, he was too serious for Pop Art, too impassioned for Minimalism, and too old-fashioned for Postmodernism.

As a young man Cy Twombly decided to leave America for Italy, where he has been living for almost forty years. Like Whistler a hundred years before him, he has been the typical American abroad, imbibing the culture of the Old World. At the same time, as an American painter in Europe in the postwar era, he might be cowed by the achievements of the Old Masters, but he could be confident that, at least among the living, his culture, the culture of Pollock and de Kooning, was the most powerful on the planet.

In his earliest work, Mr. Twombly, a friend of Robert Rauschenberg and a fellow student at Black Mountain College, seems quite mainstream. *Minoe* from 1951 reveals, against a black field, some crude off-white figures that possess the gestural rawness of Franz Kline. Yet somehow the painting never quite lifts off. One is uneasily conscious of a painter straining for some grand gestures, but walled in by the tradition that precedes him. The title as well attests to a pretension, which the artist never outgrew, of supplying his abstractions with classy but entirely irrelevant, foreign-sounding names.

Mr. Twombly's best and most typical works date from the early Sixties. They stand in the same relation to the paintings of the New York School as Ravel's operas stand to those of Richard Wagner: though they use many of the same tropes and though they have an undeniable emotional charge, still the result is infallibly lighthearted and urbane. Mr. Twombly is as much a gestural artist as Pollock or de Kooning; but instead of broad, impassioned strokes, he is given to minute, fragile, fidgety marks that recall the pencil and Crayola scribblings of children. Thus *Untitled* from 1959 is a blank wall of off-white house paint over which are scattered a few shy twists of a pencil. Like Pollock and Newman, Mr. Twombly makes big paintings, though even here his thin, nervous marks insufficiently occupy their huge spaces, leaving many pockets of emptiness. And whereas the testaments of the New York School presumed to project raw personality onto the canvas, Twombly's works have all the chattering insincerity of small talk.

In one of his best works, *The Triumph of Galatea*, this random, scattershot approach works to most impressive effect: blood reds, flesh tones, and bluish greys seem to spill from the top right into the bottom left of the canvas like the incontinent effusions of Pandora's box. This image succeeds in generating a sense of joyous, uncorseted, ecstatic vitality overcoming everything in its path. It dates from 1961, the artist's annus mirabilis, for it was then that he painted some of his finest and most typical works: *The School of Athens*, *Empire of Flora*, *The Bay of Naples*.

Unfortunately, that level of intensity was not maintained. All the weaknesses inherent in his art—lack of structure, arbitrariness of execution, pretentious allusions to high culture—having lost their original emotional force, become all too apparent in his later work. Toward the end of the Sixties, we find Mr. Twombly groping for a stronger sense of structure, as in such "blackboard" paintings as *Night Watch*, which look like white chalk etched against a grey or black ground.

After this the artist seems not to have known where to go next. By the Eighties he has been reduced to making the blandest kind of Bank or Lobby Art, cruel parodies of his earlier style. And his most recent works, straining towards crude figuration, almost suggest that the artist, succumbing to pressure from his dealers, has resolved to "get with the ticket" and create something new and up-to-date. These works will ultimately do nothing to enhance his fame. But neither can they conceal the fact, demonstrated by the Modern's retrospective, that once, about a generation ago, Cy Twombly was making some of the finest abstract art ever painted by an American. □

Mr. Gardner, author of Culture or Trash? *(Birch Lane), writes often about art for* NR.

DELECTATIONS

Putting on the Ritz

TAKI THEODORACOPULOS

OF ALL the legends surrounding Ernest Hemingway, one of the most colorful concerns his personal liberation of the bar at the Paris Ritz, as the Germans retreated from the city fifty years ago. It was hardly the most daring act during the liberation of the city, but it was one of

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the most noteworthy. The Ritz, after all, is the Ritz.

Hemingway, who if memory serves was covering the war for *Collier's*, clambered on the roof of the hotel—he was carrying a Sten gun—fired off a round, and brought down a clothes line. He also took two prisoners, a couple of elderly German ordinances who had been left behind doing the laundry. He then made a sweep through the cellar, picking up a few Mouton Rothschilds on the way, and finally ended up in the bar, on the rue Cambon side, ordering a round of dry Martinis for all present.

Oh yes, I almost forgot. Hemingway being Hemingway, he announced that he was "personally liberating the Ritz," and then sat down to do some serious drinking with Colonel David Bruce, later U.S. Ambassador to France.

When Hemingway pushed through those revolving doors into the majestic marble lobby off the most historic and exquisite Parisian square, the hotel's staff had been dutifully bowing and scraping to German biggies, including Goering and Goebbels, for four miserable years. The non-Nazi German generals enjoyed a good reputation with the Ritz staff. After all, unlike the Nazi mob, they were Prussian aristos, and knew their way around the good things in life. I remember Bertin, the barman, telling me this in 1958, when the German occupation was still fresh, and the Germans still very unpopular.

Last August, after two years of renovation, the Hemingway bar, as it's now called, re-opened in time to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the city's liberation. The bar, which claims to be the birthplace of the Bloody Mary, is now officially called a literary bar, a title achieved through a liberal scattering of literary paraphernalia. A bronze bust of Hemingway stands on the bar, and photographs of him and other famous writers cover the walls. There is also a bookcase dominating one wall. The Al-Fayeds, the Egyptian owners of the Ritz, claim that genuine writers are permitted to give the bar as their postal address, but I'll believe that when I see it.

Bertin is now serving in that other large bar up above, so when I entered the Hemingway bar recently I did so with some trepidation. I was sure that the place would be full of public-relations hucksters, all talking about Papa and the good old days. Well, I was in for a surprise. The place was full of young, pretty girls and their dates, mostly English and French, but then I remembered it was the weekend of the Arc de Triomph, the greatest horse race of the Paris season. All I know is that Hemingway would have loved it.

Hemingway and Paris are hard to separate, and there are many Parisian watering holes that trade on their association with him. Brasserie Lipp on the Boulevard St.-Germain can perhaps claim second place in Papa's heart. At Chez Lipp Hemingway found the beer "cold and wonderful" and the pommes d'huile "firm and marinated and the olive oil delicious."

Other famous Hemingway haunts are prewar hangouts. Places like the Dôme and the Rotonde, as well as the Café Select. My favorite, the Ritz bar aside, is La Closerie des Lilas, where a brass plaque marks the corner of the bar where he not only drank, but wrote too. It was in this corner that Hemingway asked Ford Maddox Ford whether Ezra Pound was a gentleman, and the irrascible Ford answered, "Of course not. He's an American."

And there is, of course, Harry's Bar—Sank roo Doughnoo, as it's still advertised for Americans not familiar with the language of Richelieu—where Hemingway once evicted a lion from the premises because the beast, owned by a former boxer, had urinated on his shoes without apologizing. Hemingway claimed the lion went quietly.

For the past forty years Hemingway has come under attack from feminists and other assorted pests, and some modernists even say his problems stemmed from his mother—shades of the Menendez defense. I say horse feathers, because what I'd really like to say is unprintable in this family magazine. The worst insult, however, came recently from a Swiss hotelier. In Gstaad, of all places. When I told him that the Rossli Inn, where Papa always stayed before climbing the Wassengrat on skins and skiing down, should put up a plaque denoting his stay, the Swiss said, "Who is Hemingway"? □

Mr. Theodoracopulos, an NR *contributor, is the author of* Nothing to Declare.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Guns, Crime, and Freedom, by Wayne LaPierre (Regnery, 263 pp., $22.95)

IF GUN control won't protect us from crime, what will? The fact that Wayne LaPierre, chief executive officer of the National Rifle Association, feels compelled to answer that question suggests how besieged and defensive gun owners have become. After all, nobody expects the American Civil Liberties Union, which also opposes certain measures aimed at fighting crime, to issue its own platform of alternatives. It should be enough for Mr. LaPierre to show, as he does here, that gun control doesn't work, that it violates our rights and undermines our safety. Especially worthwhile are the chapters that deal with the right to keep and bear arms, which show why you have to be ignorant or deceitful to dismiss the Second Amendment with a wave of the hand. The crime-control section is familiar but mostly sensible—noting, for example, that prisons can be a good investment even if their only function is to incapacitate. —JACOB SULLUM

The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880–1939, by John Carey (St. Martin's, 246 pp., $19.95)

THIS engrossing but ultimately disappointing book documents the revulsion that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century modernist writers felt toward "the masses." By juxtaposing artistic and intellectual fantasies about exterminating the "vile multitude" with Hitler's views on the subject, Mr. Carey teases out the chilling implications of the elitism undergirding much of modernist discourse. However, he is less successful at proving his second—and more original—point: "The purpose of modernist writing . . . [was] to preserve the intellectual's seclusion from the 'mass.'" This makes the modernists sound like the chattering New Class of our own day. But Mr. Carey's list of modernist villains—H.G. Wells, D.H. Larwence, George Orwell, Graham Greene—suggests that experimentality in literature does not necessarily entail anti-mass sentiment.

— NICK GILLESPIE

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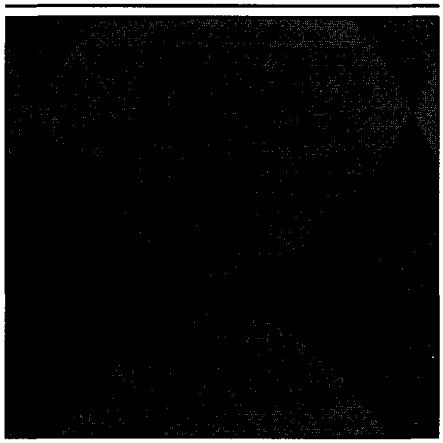

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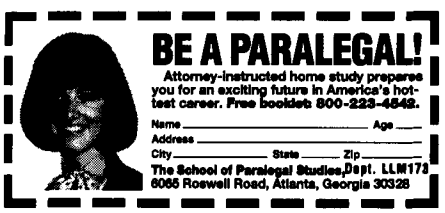
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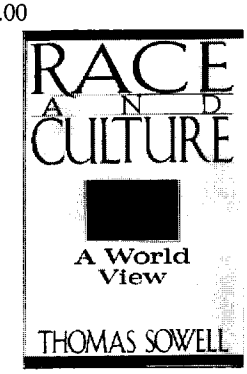

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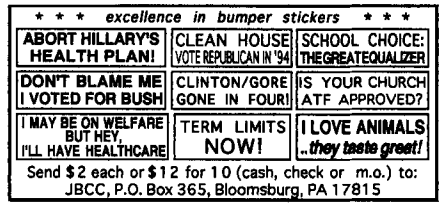
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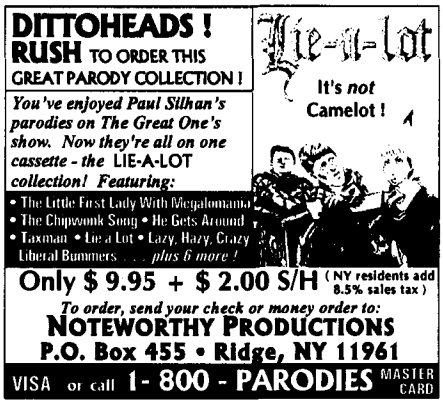
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RODMAN

(Continued from page 67)

ic circles in the U.S., as among governments in Europe, is that the Iranian threat should not be exaggerated. The military build-up is only gradual, the argument runs (the missile deal with North Korea seems to be on hold, for example), and Iran has natural security concerns at a time of regional turbulence. This begs not a few questions, however. First, the slowing down of the Iranian military expansion (if such it is) could just as easily be a result of the U.S.-promoted financial squeeze as a sign of benign intentions. If so, it vindicates our policy.

Second, with the defeat of Iraq in Desert Storm, Iran's security aim looks to be offensive rather than defensive: to fill the vacuum and make its own bid for dominance in the Gulf. With Algeria teetering on the brink of Islamic takeover and the rest of the Arab world preoccupied with Islamic radicalism, it is premature to proclaim the demise of Iran's revolutionary foreign policy.

The saddest news is that if the United States should find itself in a crisis with Iran five years from now, we will find ourselves simultaneously in a crisis with our closest allies. It will *not* be a replay of Desert Storm.

The Administration could use some reinforcement here. Martin Indyk, the principal architect of the hard-line policy toward both Iran and Iraq, is leaving the White House/National Security Council staff to become ambassador to Israel; with his departure, the bureaucratic balance in Washington may tilt. The U.S. Government's controls on exports of sensitive technology have already been significantly weakened by pressures from Congress and business that the Administration has not effectively resisted.

The State Department, moreover, is inclined to view Iran's revolutionary regime as "deeply rooted" in the society and therefore a "permanent feature" of the region. The department is opposed to any contacts with a prominent exile group, the People's Mujahedin, on the grounds that it has Iraqi connections and that it was formerly leftist and anti-American.

Given the strategic menace represented by the Iranian regime, it may be self-defeating to continue to shun an apparently vigorous resistance group that is turning to us for help, whatever its provenance. Accordingly, an unusually broad bipartisan coalition of 98 House members and 12 senators wrote to Mr. Christopher on September 9 to urge that the department consult with the Mujahedin in preparing a congressionally mandated report on the group and its activities.

Anti-government riots in early August in the northwestern city of Qazvin suggest the Teheran regime might not be a "permanent feature" after all. In any case, it is difficult to see why the United States should do it the favor of treating it as such. □

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 J	2 E	3 Q	4 P	5 D	6 C	7 H	■	8 S	9 B	10 A	■	11 L	12 U	13 V	14 F	■	15 G	16 K	17 M	18 J
■	19 I	20 C	21 A	22 Q	■	23 E	■	24 H	25 R	26 S	27 F	28 M	29 J	30 B	31 C	32 V	■	33 G	34 Q	35 E
36 L	■	37 D	38 J	■	39 U	40 P	41 T	42 K	■	43 I	44 S	45 O	46 H	47 U	■	48 F	49 A	50 E	■	51 R
52 H	53 Q	54 J	55 D	■	56 M	57 T	58 V	■	59 F	60 K	61 O	62 S	63 U	■	64 J	65 E	■	66 G	67 B	68 D
69 A	■	70 C	71 L	72 R	73 Q	■	74 I	75 K	76 N	■	77 M	78 A	79 F	80 P	81 R	82 H	83 D	84 J	85 E	■
86 C	87 G	88 V	89 Q	■	90 P	91 U	92 A	93 B	■	94 C	95 J	■	96 L	97 A	98 Q	99 C	100F	■	101H	102M
103T	■	104G	105V	106S	107B	■	108R	109D	■	110O	■	111J	112E	113F	114S	115I	■	116U	117K	118F
■	119I	120A	121L	122S	123E	124K	■	125D	126V	127T	128G	■	129H	130C	131T	132S	133M	134P	■	135R
136U	137I	■	138E	139Q	140N	141J	142L	143P	■	144A	145O	146I	147J	148B	149K	150R	■	151U	152Q	153F
154J	■	155C	156L	157V	158M	■	159B	160E	161Q	162K	163H	164A	165O	166D	■	167D	168G	169N	170E	171S

DEFINITIONS

A. From above — 49 78 144 97 120 164 10 69 92 21

B. Empire, or footstool — 67 108 93 30 159 9 148

C. Satanic "fishing expedition"? (2 words) — 86 99 94 6 130 156 31 20 70

D. Enlarges — 83 167 68 166 5 109 37 125 55

E. One kind of project — 112 50 138 123 160 2 23 85 170 35 65

F. Timid — 100 113 79 59 27 118 153 14 48

G. Source of the heat — 33 87 15 104 66 168 128

H. Freedom—especially for the cartographer — 24 7 129 163 101 52 82 46

I. Flexible — 137 115 146 119 74 19 43

J. Scare tactics — 147 84 54 64 156 141 18 1 111 29 95 38

K. Bedwear, informally — 117 60 162 75 42 16 124 149

L. Tub amenity — 11 96 121 71 142 156 36

M. Intellectual—down on the farm — 158 133 28 102 17 56 77

N. "Norma _____" — 169 140 76

O. Festive occasions — 145 165 61 110 45

P. Opportunity to "clean up," for the bride-to-be — 143 134 40 90 80 4

Q. Noted Virginia candidate (2 words) — 98 89 139 53 3 34 22 161 73 152

R. Radio or television sender — 51 135 72 150 25 108 81

S. Logan institution of higher learning learning (2 words) — 132 122 114 8 106 171 44 26 62

T. Uneven — 127 57 131 41 103

U. Publication's "credits" — 39 116 47 151 136 12 91 63

V. Comes about — 58 126 105 88 157 13 32

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. TOMMY DENTON: *Schools Fail:* "Students who demonstrate a contemptuous disregard for the opportunity to learn too often lack an appreciation for the fundamental values of decency, personal responsibility, and basic respect for the rights of others."

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Read and Resist

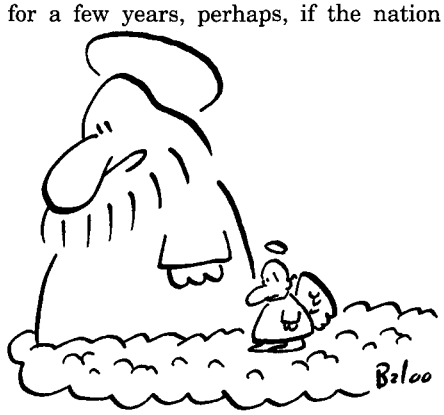
NEW YORK, OCTOBER 11

The new book *The Bell Curve* by Charles Murray and (the late) Richard Herrnstein is going to use up more polemical BTU's than anything since the Kinsey Report, and the pity of it is that most of the fussing and fuming will focus on a minor aspect of the book, namely the difference in intelligence between persons of different race. Yes, M & H tell us that there is this difference in "cognitive ability," a more exact word for intelligence. But the authors put this in perspective. To begin with, evidence that intelligence is inherited comes in at figures between 40 and 80 per cent. Accordingly, they use 60 per cent.

What this means is that Brainy John married to Brainy Jane will produce children with a 60 per cent likelihood of inheriting their parents' intelligence. That doesn't really surprise anyone, or shouldn't. Where it gets sticky is in documenting (or, rather, redocumenting, since the figure has been floating about for a generation) that there is a 15 per cent difference in the average intelligence level of the whites and blacks. But all the above is subject to the bell-shaped curve, which glides along at sea level rising slowly, then arches up steeply, only to descend symmetrically toward sea level. The two bell-shaped curves superimposed upon each other with however 15 points separating the vertical axes tell us that yes, there is a difference in the median intelligence of the races but also that 10 per cent of blacks are brighter than fifty per cent of whites. Such scholars as Professor Ernest van den Haag years ago dealt with the question of raw intelligence and asked such fundamental questions as: What correlations are there between intelligence and—e.g.—happiness? That is not a silly point, by the way: it is entirely possible that there are more unhappy brain surgeons in the world than sanitation workers.

No, the fresh observation of Murray and Herrnstein has to do with polarization, i.e., with the tendency of natural arrangements to accentuate. Take, just for instance, the matter of marriage. It is a commonplace that men and women tend to consort roughly with members of their own class, so that a graduate of Harvard is likelier to become the husband of a college graduate than of someone who never even attended high school. But the draw of economic organization and scientific sophistication is polarizing what was once merely a matter of incidental congeniality, and (we are told) this means that we are headed toward a situation in which, so to speak, the brighter class becomes brighter, and the less bright class becomes less bright. Since economic compensation more and more corresponds with IQ, there is in prospect a marked division in income.

The racial question is secondary. "People find it hard to accept this at face value. The topic of race and IQ, relegated to whispers for so many years, is in danger of becoming a test of one's intellectual machismo. If we try to talk about something else, many assume, it must be because we are afraid. So let us say it as loudly and clearly as the printed page permits: If tomorrow the U.S. consisted entirely of blue-eyed blonds, the critical themes of *The Bell Curve* would remain unchanged. The increasing value of brains in the marketplace would remain. The driving role of cognitive stratification would remain. The prospects for a state in which high- and moderate-IQ taxpayers would become custodians of an underclass dominated by low IQ individuals would remain as grim—postponed for a few years, perhaps, if the nation consisted entirely of blue-eyed blonds, but no more than that."



"Darwin's getting uncomfortably close—initiate the platypus project."

It is less easy to puncture the tight and conscientious analysis of M & H than to do the more natural thing, which, surely, is to smile at one more grand social schema. We had one from Malthus, who told us an overpopulated world would soon face death by pestilence or by starvation, and of course Marx assured us that the rich would get richer while the poor descended to the level of mere biological survival. Etc., etc. The new work is solid and important, but even if it isn't easy to unscrew that little strut from that critical little syllogism, the whole edifice tends to wilt under the sunny smile of a radiant central intelligence, the kind of thing that brings about such unpredictable phenomena as Bill Gates and thousand-dollar computers. This important book should be widely explored, but not in the spirit of Ishmael, who when feeling gloomy was attracted to the tail end of funeral processions. □

Beware Huffington!

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 7

I swear, not since the moon landing were my eyes more riveted to the TV screen. Those of us who do not live in California are not familiar with the face, let alone the manner, of Michael Huffington, and not since Joe McCarthy has any political figure in America spooked so many people. Well no, not "people"—spooked so many of the nation's cultural mandarinate, who seem to have mobilized to persuade Californians to vote for Dianne Feinstein, the incumbent Democrat, rather than invite a Dark Age under Senator Huffington. There are writers for *Vanity Fair*, for *Time*, for *The New Yorker* who veritably screech at the mention of the H word. As of last Thursday the point man became the *New York Times'* Frank Rich, who pronounces Huffington "The Manchurian Candidate." That candidate was the protagonist in a thriller about a puppet-husband of an Evil Woman whose design was—to Take America Away From Us!!! Including the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Kennedy Center!

So . . . it was with great anticipation that we waited for Larry King. Readers of Frank Rich et al. were justified in wondering whether Mr. Huffington would be capable of pronouncing his own name distinctly or would he need his evil wife as a ventriloquist? ("No, dear, it's HUFF-ington, not HUDD-ington.") Well,

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the evening was a revelation. The Manchurian Candidate spoke intelligently, handled his opponent with skill, and said sensible things.

Here is what they (to use Frank Rich as a spokesman) are saying about Huffington.

1. He is spending a huge amount of money to "buy a seat in the U.S. Senate." Well yes, he is spending a great deal of money. From which we conclude what? Per capita, in California, he will not have spent as much as Jay Rockefeller spent in West Virginia, or for that matter Jesse Helms in North Carolina. Rich people who are ambitious, for noble and ignoble reasons (they want to endow the country with their talent and insights, viz Nelson Rockefeller; they want to achieve power in order the better to plunder the nation, viz the Borgias), want to achieve political station. So Huffington is spending a lot of money, so what?

2. "Mr. Huffington comes out of nowhere," as Frank Rich puts it. Right. So did Napoleon, Beethoven, and Truman. In fact, Huffington is a member of Congress, a seat he won in an open election on which he spent a lot of money, but that takes us back, does it not, to so-what time?

3. Mrs. Huffington, known primarily as Arianna Stassinopoulos, is an acolyte of sorts of a character called John-Roger. The latter is one of those California blossoms who appear from time to time in chiliastic dress and take in a lot of people. It is not established that he has taken in Mrs. Huffington, indeed the Larry King encounter revealed that she is a member in good standing of the Greek Orthodox Church. But maybe worse than that she has communed with John-Roger, she is, as Mr. Rich puts it, the author of "trashy biographies of Callas and Picasso." Another reaction than to denounce her for writing biographies that do not suit the critical standards of Frank Rich is to remark that Arianna Stassinopoulos before she married the rich Mr. Huffington was a successful career woman who wrote two books under her own steam. Critics do not pause to recall that at age 20 she was President of the Cambridge Union, a position nobody bought for her.

4. And, finally, the critics say of Mr. Huffington that he has nothing to say. But on Larry King he proved quite the opposite. He said that taxes were crushing U.S. initiative (true); that special interests are swamping the general interest (true). His commercials (one each from Mrs. Feinstein and Mr. Huffington was shown by Mr. King) include the charge that Senator Feinstein operates a "special interest juke box," citing deferential votes by Mrs. Feinstein corresponding with deferential gestures by special interests to her campaigns.

Oh well. American liberals can't stand it when a conservative makes a headline move. It was amusing, on Larry King, to emerge with a picture of the liberal Senator. Feinstein begging people to believe that she was in favor of capital punishment before Moses, and against immigration before the Oriental Exclusion Act. Great sport, California politics. □

TV Or No TV

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 4

A panel of shrewd men and one woman, two of whom had been in prisons, were advocating reforms, and on one reform there was agreement from all sides. It is that at least one half of the present population of our prisons would be better used doing something other than sitting in a jail cell or listlessly producing license plates. Everyone is familiar with the dilemma: If you don't send people to jail who are convicted, then you are trifling with the law. On the other hand, if you do send to jail everyone who is convicted, you are in some states slightly, in many states egregiously, exceeding the population for which the prison was built. So, big deal? They doubled the population of Yale after the war, and the dear boys survived. . . . That attitude is widespread and especially relevant when the bond issue comes up that asks for $100 million for new prisons. The angry taxpayers say the hell with new prisons, and the judiciary retaliates: by ordering that part of the prison population that exceeds the anticipated limit to go home and be paroled.

So far so good, such as Charles Colson, the ingenious head of Prison Fellowship, would declare. The problem is that who is being let out of jail is not necessarily the woman who wrote the bum check, or the car thief, or the marijuana smoker. Some of these are released to be sure, but also some people who got there by slitting someone's throat and might very well resume (remember Willie Horton?) doing so when given an opportunity.

Now as this exchange went on, the politicians in Jackson, Mississippi, were considering quite other changes in prison practice. The governing idea of those who took this initiative is that jails should be unpleasant. Well, surely it is unpleasant enough to be locked into a single cell, or even within the confines of a large fortification?

No, that isn't enough, these reformers are arguing. Writes Adam Nossiter of the *New York Times*, "There was talk of restoring fear to prisons, of caning, of making prisoners 'smell like a prisoner,' of burning and frying, of returning executions to the county seat and of making Mississippi 'the capital of capital punishment,' as Governor Kirk Fordice put it." And in the wrap-up: "From California to Florida, elected officials have proposed to make prison life harsher than it has been in years, and in some cases, they have succeeded. On the table or already on the books are edicts taking away television, tennis, and basketball courts, weight rooms . . . and more.

There are prisons in which inmates cannot read. There is no reading material, and if there were, there would not be light enough to read with. Oppressions of that kind play with the chemical recesses of human nature: If one is given to reading, to have nothing to read is a form of torture. And even if one grants the postulate that life in prison should not be comfortable, how uncomfortable should it be? It is entirely possible to regulate the temperature of a jail cell to make it ten degrees colder than the human body can easily put up with, or ten degrees hotter. Overhead lights, brilliant and unreachable, can assault the psyche. Prison uniforms can be designed to be garishly humiliating.

And then—if there is to be no television, no records or tapes, what will there be to listen to? Are these such auspices as can induce learning? If so, at what level? How would five years of listening only to the Bible register on the typical 19-year-old inmate? Would he at first resist listening to anything he had not himself commandeered? And would he then finally listen to what was being said? Listen with an appreciative ear? Heart?

These experiments cannot be conducted in a hurry. We learn that a particular corner of the inner city found peace from throbbing teenagerhood only when the restaurant owner thought to blast from his amplifier a Mozart opera. Would five years of this breed a Mozart cult?

Penological thought has a long way to go. Yes, lawbreakers should be made to suffer—but how? Next to Charles Colson when he served time was the former head of a large doctors' group, perfectly able to use his stethoscope, but permitted only the chisel to make license plates. The questions are not yet political, but inevitably they will be. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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A Confederacy of Cons

ON MY GOOD days my definition of a conservative is someone who has ordered a book from Liberty Press and knows who Irving Babbitt was, but as you know, I have very few good days. I have defined some other conservative types of late and they all make me sick.

1. Gump Cons prove that conservatives are like a box of chocolates: you never know when something mushy is going to ooze out.

I met Forrest Gump eight years ago, having read the Winston Groome novel before it was published—i.e., I reviewed it for the *Washington Post*, which fact alone tells us something: if the book had contained the seeds of a great conservative revival, the *Post* never would have assigned it to me.

Screenwriters always change things, but even so I'm having a hard time understanding why the movie made Pat Buchanan deliquesce in print. In the novel, Forrest is a grits 'n' gravy version of Inspector Clouseau—which is why I gave it a rave. Farce as farce, farce for its own sake unhampered by lessons and deeper meanings, is a conservative art form. Liberals are the ones who demand that their entertainment be didactic and "worthwhile," but We the Guiltless shouldn't need a message-bearing Forrest Gump. Yet Gump Cons obviously do; they're so busy finding their favorite symbols that they sound like readers of existentialist literary quarterlies.

I am also tired of hearing them attribute Forrest's nobility of character to his IQ of 75. Anti-intellectualism is a tropism of the Right having much to do with the fact that most intellectuals are liberals. Gustave Flaubert, a conservative to the nines, yielded to the same impulse in *A Simple Heart*, his story of a slow-witted but great-souled maidservant who still reigns as France's Forrest Gump, but hosannas to admirable idiots are not sanctified by being French. Say what you will about Ayn Rand, she always connected virtue to intelligence.

2. Irish Tenor Cons are conservatives with a tear-in-the-voice speaking style. Personified by Oliver North, the Chauncey Olcott of the mawkish Right, this type would rather move hearts than minds. That he succeeds in doing so is the cause of his biggest problem; stuck with a constituency composed largely of people who can be swung like a lariat, he must keep on gulping and swallowing and choking up until cerebrally based conservatives can't stand the sight of him.

3. Connube Cons think you can't be a conservative unless you're married. The Republican Party of Virginia is overrun with Connube Cons. When Democrat Mary Sue Terry ran for Attorney General, a Connube announced that the GOP candidate had more legal knowledge in his little finger than spinster Mary Sue had "in all five [sic] of her ringless fingers." I voted for two-handed Mary Sue just for spite—the only time I've ever voted for a Democrat.

Virginia's Grand Connube is Gov. George Allen, of whom a local reporter wrote during the campaign: "While Allen never missed an opportunity to say he was married, he never mentioned that this is his second marriage." When an Allen aide stated that his candidate was better qualified to be governor because he's a husband and father, Allen repudiated him, but then Oliver North chimed in with a tremolo warning that the governor's mansion must not be "a sterile house."

To spot a Connube candidate, look for the little blond kid—democracy's Plantagenet—on the dais. Supposedly these are sons, but there are so many of them and they all look so much alike that I think the candidates rent them from Little Blond Kid, Inc. Simply give them a call and they'll say, "Yeah, we've got that," just like Staples Office Supply.

CONNUBE Cons have some odd blind spots. They adore Ozzie and Harriet and bray about the other wonderful family shows of the Sixties, even though critics of that era complained that the fathers in these sitcoms were portrayed as hapless Dagwoods perpetually outwitted by women and children. But that's okay: *Dagwood is married.*

4. Entreprenoor Cons, so called for the way they pronounce "entrepreneur," define a conservative as someone who owns his own business—period. That's all it takes; you don't even have to be married. It's a good thing Entreprenoors are self-employed; if they had a boss they would get fired for spending three hours a day dialing the Rush Limbaugh show. Many get through, which is how America learned to mispronounce "entrepreneur."

5. Con-Con Macoutes wreck Clifton Fadiman's theory that conservatives are wittier than liberals because our freedom from earnestness gives us a deft touch. Deftness dwells not in columnist Sam Francis, who called FDR "Old Rubberlegs" and descended to flat nothingness when he nicknamed the GOP the "Stupid Party." Con-Con Macoutery is the bane of many male conservatives, who associate whiplash retorts with foppishness, but they should remember that the art of the insult is still touched by Versailles.

The best American example of it, which Con-Con Macoutes would do well to study, is Charles Francis Adams' opinion of William Jennings Bryan: "He is in one sense scripturally formidable, for he is unquestionably armed with the jawbone of an ass."

—FLORENCE KING

St. Martin's will publish The Florence King Reader, *an anthology, early next year.*

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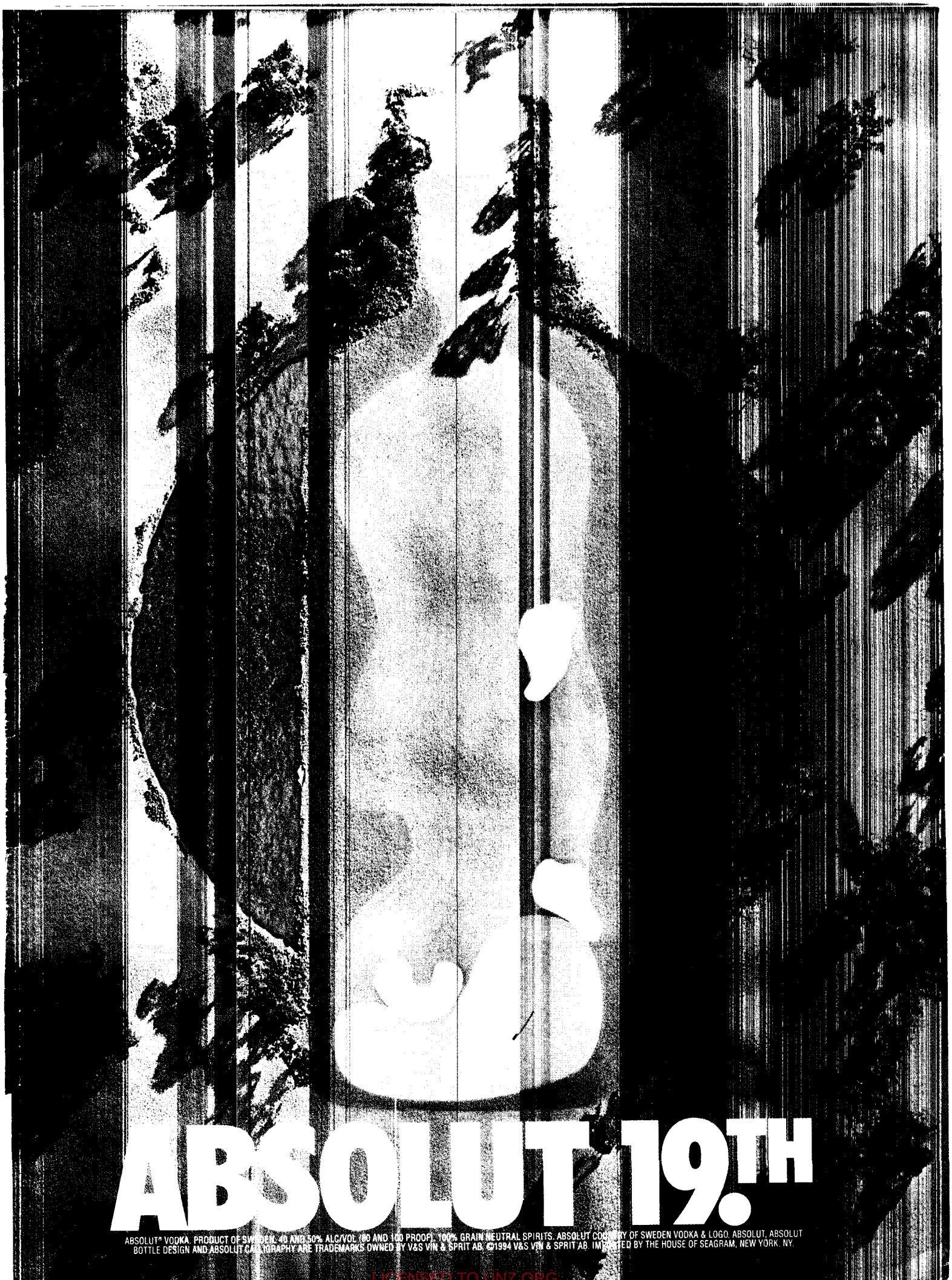

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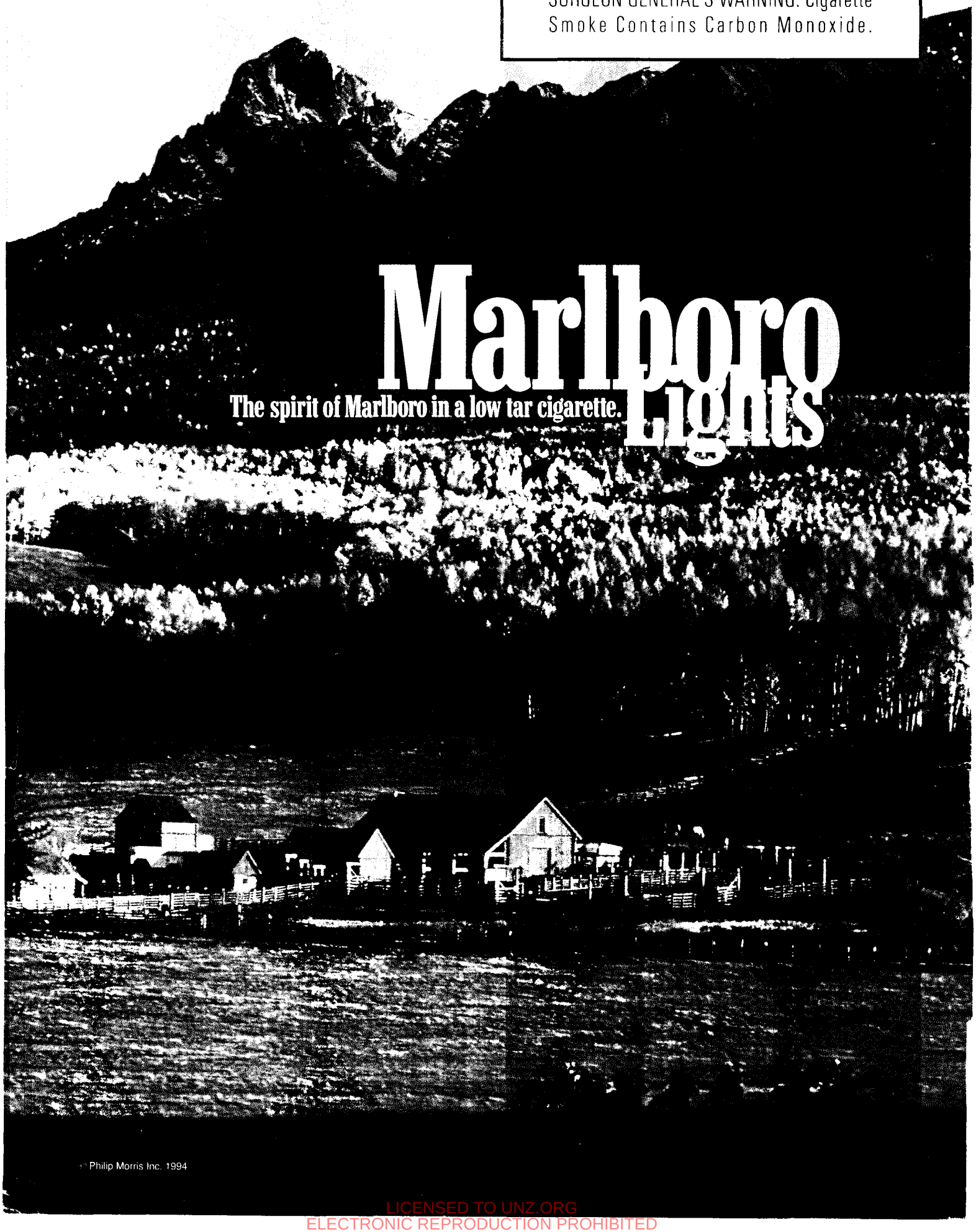

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